



THE WAR IN CHINA.

NARRATIVE

OF

THE CHINESE EXPEDITION

FROM ITS FORMATION IN APRIL, 1840, TO THE
TREATY OF PEACE IN AUGUST, 1842.

BY

D. MCPHERSON, M.D.

MADRAS ARMY,

ATTACHED TO THE SERVICE OF HIS HIGHNESS THE NIZAM, AND LATELY
WITH THE 37TH GRENADIER REGIMENT IN CHINA.

" Lettre, lâche, hypocrite et charlatan; poli, complimenteur adroit, fourbe et fripon; qui met tous les devoirs en étiquettes, toute la morale en sumagrées, et ne connoit d'autre humanité que les salutations et les révérences."

ROUSSEAU, *on the Chinese*.

THIRD EDITION.

LONDON

SAUNDERS AND OTLEY, CONDUIT STREET.

1843.

TO
GENERAL SIR HUGH GOUGH, BART.

K.C.B. G.C.B.

LATE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE LAND FORCES IN CHINA,

AND

NOW COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF ALL INDIA,

THIS VOLUME

IS,

WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF RESPECT AND ESTEEM,

Dedicated,

BY THE AUTHOR.

.

P R E F A C E. .

THE following work was planned and executed during a passage of six weeks between the ports of Hong-Kong and Madras, in those hours which the author could snatch from his professional engagements, and at a period when he laboured under repeated and severe attacks of sickness.

His aim throughout has been to produce a simple and correct narrative of events, and in this he trusts that he has succeeded. The chief portion of the work has been compiled from notes taken by himself at the period of the occurrence of the scenes detailed.

Two papers published by the author, and now incorporated in this volume, have already ap-

peared in the “ Chinese Repository,” an excellent periodical, published at Macao, to the editor of which, as also to all who have furnished him with material for his work, he begs now to offer his best thanks.

The author has to plead good intentions alone against the imperfect execution of the task.

May, 1842.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

To the very favourable reception given to this work by many of the first reviewers under whose notice it has come, may be attributed the rapid disposal of two Editions.

While presenting a Third Edition to the public, the author begs to tender his best acknowledgments for the liberal patronage which has been vouchsafed to him. Every effort has been made to render the present edition more valuable than its predecessors. The narrative of the operations of the expedition is now brought to a conclusion. The bulky dispatches, that formed so large a portion of the last editions, are laid aside, a few illustrations are inserted, and the letter-press has been carefully revised and corrected.

July, 1843.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

A general view of the character of the Chinese—Their repeated insults to British subjects—Immediate cause of the present rupture - - - - - p. 1

CHAPTER II.

The formation of the Expedition—Its strength and constitution—Its departure from India, and arrival at Chusan, p. 10

CHAPTER III.

Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries proceed to the Pieho—Affair at Amoy—Battle of the Barrier—Sickness at Chusan, p. 14

CHAPTER IV.

Wreck of the Indian Oak and Kite Transports—Capture of Captain Anstruther - - - - - p. 24

CHAPTER V.

Arrival of the 37th regiment, M. N. I., in China—A Typhoon in the China seas—Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries return from Chusan, and proceed with the force to the Canton river—Admiral goes home - - - - - p. 30

CHAPTER VI.

A visit to Macao—Camoens' Cave—Small-feet women, p. 37

CHAPTER VII.

Letter from Captain Anstruther—Melancholy accounts from Chusan—The missing Golconda—The Nemesis steamer, p. 46

CHAPTER VIII.

Treacherous conduct of the imperial commissioner—Massacre of six mandarins—Battles of Cheumpee and Tycocktow, p. 60

CHAPTER IX.

The day after the battle—Flag of truce and treaty of peace—Columbine sails for Chusan - - - - - p. 70

CHAPTER X.

A description of the harbour and island of Hong-Kong—Interview between Captain Elliot and Keshen—Perfidy, and interruption of negotiations - - - - - p. 78

CHAPTER XI.

Recommencement of hostilities, and bombardment of forts at Bocca Tigris - - - - - p. 87

CHAPTER XII.

Advance upon Canton—Arrival of Sir Hugh Gough and of the Chusan force—Release of the Ningpo prisoners—Armistice and arrangements for trade agreed on, p. 101

CHAPTER XIII.

Commodore proceeds to Calcutta—Keshen is recalled—Three new commissioners arrive at Canton—They act with duplicity - - - - - p. 111

CHAPTER XIV.

Hostilities are resumed—Third advance up the river—Battle of the heights above Canton - - - - - p. 120

CHAPTER XV.

The seven days' bivouack on the heights - - - p. 137

CHAPTER XVI.

Death of Sir Humphrey Le Fleming Senhouse—Return of Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer—Sickness at Hong-Kong—Typhoons of 21st and 26th July - - p. 165

CHAPTER XVII.

Narrative of the loss of H.B.M.'s cutter Louisa in the Typhoon, July 21st, 1841 - - - - - p. 176

CHAPTER XVIII.

Arrival of Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir William Parker—Departure of Captain Elliot and Sir Gordon Bremer—Second expedition to the north—The fall of Amoy, p. 200

CHAPTER XIX.

Recapture of Chusan and fall of Chinghae - - - - p. 210

CHAPTER XX.

British troops enter Ningpo—Loss of the steamer Madagascar, and ships Nerbudda and Viscount Melbourne, p. 228

CHAPTER XXI.

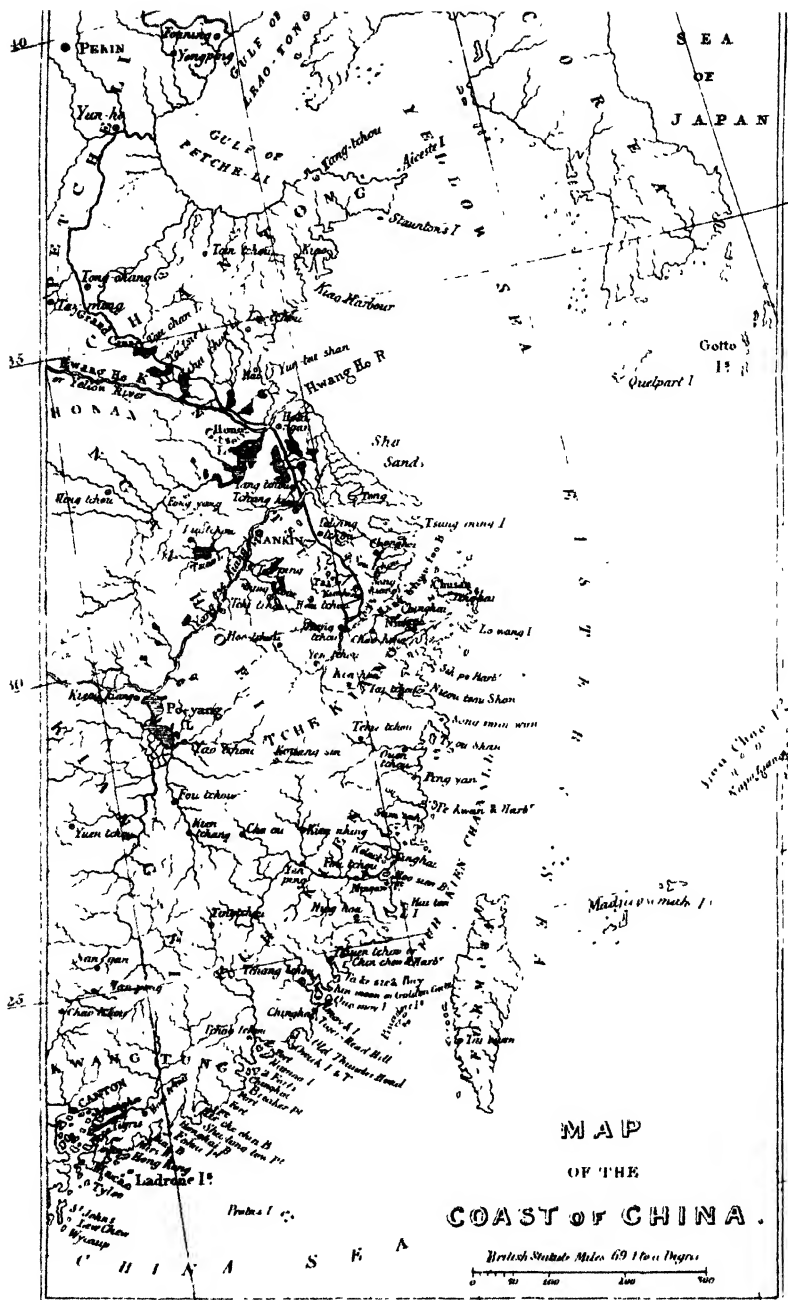
Opium and opium smoking - - - - - p. 240

CHAPTER XXII.

Troops enter winter quarters—Health of the forces—Enemy threaten their position—Night attack on Ningpo and Chinghae—Tartar Encampment on the heights of Segao and Chakye destroyed - - - - - p. 250

CHAPTER XXIII.

Evacuation of Ningpo—Fall of Chapu—Reinforcements arrive—Fleet enter the Yang-tze-Keang—Waosung, Powchong, and Chinghae are taken—The City of Chin-Keang-foo is stormed—Nankin is threatened—The Emperor sues for peace—He agrees to our terms—Our army separate—Farewell order by Sir Hugh Gough—Conclusion - - - - - p. 259



TWO YEARS IN CHINA,

ETC.

CHAPTER I.

A general view of the character of the Chinese—Their repeated insults to British subjects—Immediate cause of the present rupture.

It were no easy matter for a campaigner, or for one who comes on a mere casual visit to the outer regions of so vast an empire as China, to enter into anything like an acute analysis of the inhabitants of the land—that is, had he to depend solely upon his own chance resources and natural powers of discrimination. Much, it is true, may be acquired in the abstract ; much political duplicity and craft may come to light from among the upper classes ; and much low

cunning, and treachery, and selfishness, may be found lurking beneath the garb of the lower order, even where little had been previously dreamt of ; but the time has now come, when this extraordinary race are to be viewed no longer in this abstract form. A new era is breaking in the moral history of nations, and England, never-tiring England, has thrust her hand forward to raise the curtain from scenes hitherto secret and unknown to all save the actors themselves; while the other children of civilization sit watching, with intense anxiety, the result of her boldness. The audience will benefit ; let them not then interfere. Few boys will venture into a haunted house, although it interfere materially with their comforts ; but how many would congregate to see the one bold adventurer daring to enter its precincts, and endeavouring to dissolve the spell !

But, as we have said, it were no easy matter to start on a subject of the nature of that in which we are now engaged, solely on the strength of our own experience ; we will therefore, without scruple, glance occasionally into the few works of well-versed travellers, and others, brought daily

to our notice, to enable us to furnish a brief summary of such matters as will permit all lovers of light reading to take up the same position as ourselves, when first setting foot upon the Chinese soil.

The population of China Proper is estimated by Medhurst at 361,221,900, and that of Formosa as 1,000,000 ; yet one written character serves for the communication of thought throughout this vast empire, and the laws of the imperial council are as easily read by the poorest as by the richest in China.

A glance into the lesser traits of their character will, indeed, tend to convince one that they really have been cast in a different mould from all other nations. For instance : in matters of simple navigation the pilot tells us that his port lays west-north, and that the wind is east-south ; and on explaining the use of the compass, he describes the needle as pointing south.

In the common routine of literature, the moon-shee, or teacher, reads the date of publication of his book as the fifth year, the tenth month, and third day. He commences at what we consider

the end of the book, and reads from the top downwards. The title is found on the edge of the leaves, and the marginal notes at the head of the page, and the volume has sometimes a heavy line in the middle of each leaf, which separates two works contained in it. 19 When in the matter of simple social life, as on the death of a relative, they dress in white ; and on a marriage, nothing is to be heard but sobbing and crying ; and to crown the distinction between our own acknowledged axioms and theirs, the most learned men are of opinion that the seat of the human understanding is in the belly. 20

The motto selected for the title-page of this volume describes most correctly, in very few words, the true character of the Chinese, taken in a public point of view. Haughty, cruel, and hypocritical, they despise all other nations but their own ; they regard themselves as faultless. Next to the son of heaven, a true Chinaman thinks himself the greatest man in the world, and China, beyond all comparison, to be the most civilized, the most learned, the most fruitful, the most ancient—in short, the only country in the world. 1

They style all foreigners barbarians, and they tell them, “ We can do without you, but you cannot do without us ; if your country is so good, why do you come here for tea and rhubarb ? ” No argument will induce a Chinaman to adopt a different style of reasoning.

In private life they excel many other nations. Here, indeed, we find a direct contrast to the character given of them by the world.²⁵ There are no castes among them, consequently the great barrier between man and man, so generally subsisting among eastern nations, is altogether done away with, and the passing stranger is at all times welcome to partake of the poorest man’s fare. Their food is plain and simple,—rice, fish, and vegetables are their stable articles ; at a pinch, however, nothing comes amiss, for they have the most accommodating stomachs imaginable.²⁶ In the animal kingdom, anything from the hide to the entrails, and in the vegetable, from the leaves to the roots, is made available for the support of life. Frogs are common food ; young puppies are esteemed a delicacy, in the same way that lambs are in Europe ; and the flesh of the

kitten is an expensive luxury, and only seen on the tables of the opulent. Rats and mice are confined almost exclusively to the poorest people; the flesh of these animals is daily to be seen in the public market, skinned, and otherwise prepared, hung up by dozens in long rows, with a piece of wood passed across from one hind leg to the other.

The great majority of the population of China obtain a livelihood by cultivating the soil, or by fishing. The Chinese seas are said to contain a far more abundant supply of fish, and superior in quality to any found in the known world; and the land yields a vast return to the laborious cultivator.

In the useful arts, the Chinese ages ago excelled all other nations. The manufacture of paper and gunpowder, glass and porcelain ware, and the art of printing, were all known to them long before they came into use among us more civilized nations. Their paper is chiefly manufactured from the bark of trees and from cotton.

The Chinese respect their parents during life, and worship them after death. In fact, the wor-

ship of ancestors is the religion of the great majority ; complete obedience to the father of a family is enforced in the most rigorous manner, the emperor being not only considered as the father of all his own subjects, but of the several sovereigns of Europe also ; and both from them and their people implicit and unconditional obedience is claimed as a rightful due. All consult their joss, or god, before commencing any undertaking of importance. If they have any material event in view,—to marry, to go on a journey, to conclude a bargain, to change a situation, &c.,—it becomes necessary first to consult the superintending deity. Many believe in the transfiguration of souls ; a common belief is, that if proper funereal honours have been paid to the departed, the soul leaves the body, and in three days after death joins that of their deceased parents ; whereas, if the body remains unburied, no change takes place ; to use their own words, “ then same like one dog.”

As will be seen in the sequel, the Chinese are not a warlike race. Their industry and never-ending perseverance enable them to build exten-

sive and powerful batteries ; their guns are in many instances equal to any of European manufacture ; but their gunners never calculated on the sharp practice employed so much to their cost during the past two years. th \

The community of China are divided into four grades. The cultivation of the mind is the first and most honourable ; agriculture stands second on the list ; mechanical labour, third ; and trade or commerce, fourth, or lowest grade. The peculiar views entertained by the Chinese of the inferiority of mercantile employment is, perhaps, some apology for the repeated insults so frequently cast on our British merchants, with whom they have hitherto disdained to treat on equal terms. ⁸ Long before the lamented death of that esteemed nobleman, Lord Napier, and subsequent to his time, insults innumerable have been borne with impunity by the British nation. These are too well known to require detail here ; suffice it to say, that the Chinese, emboldened by the pacific temperament of our government, proceeded at length to the utmost extent, and not satisfied with imprisoning and threatening the lives of the

whole foreign community, laid also violent hands on the British representative himself, claiming, as the purchase of his freedom, the delivery of the whole of the opium then in the Chinese waters—property to the amount of upwards of two millions sterling. After a close imprisonment of two months' duration, during which period our countrymen were deprived of many of the necessities of life, and exposed repeatedly, as in a pillory, to the gaze and abuse of the mob, no resource was left but to yield to the bold demands of the Chinese, relying with confidence on their nation for support and redress; nor did they rely in vain, for immediately the accounts of the aggression reached London, preparations commenced for the Chinese expedition, the chief objects of which were supposed to be,—To obtain redress for imprisoning and insulting her Majesty's Plenipotentiary and subjects in China; compensation for British property seized; and direct official intercourse with the emperor.

CHAPTER II.

The formation of the Expedition—Its strength and constitution—Its departure from India, and arrival at Chusan.

It was supposed by Lord Palmerston and the other advisers of her Majesty that the mere presence of a force off the China coast would of itself be sufficient to awe the Chinese, and that they would at once submit to our demands without its becoming necessary to proceed to hostile measures. Contrary, therefore, to the advice of the greatest general of the age, an “army of demonstration” only was directed to proceed to China. This army was formed by her Majesty’s 18th, 26th, and 49th regiments, Madras Artillery, and Sappers and Miners, and the Bengal Volunteer corps, in all about 3000 strong.) The


naval portion of the force consisted of three line of battle ships, two frigates, carrying 44 guns, and fourteen other ships, carrying some 28 and some 18 guns. There were also four armed steamers attached to the expedition. With this small force Great Britain had the audacity to suppose she could bring under subjection a nation, an idea of the immense population of which will be gained by the reflection that its present generation (according to Gutzlaff) consists of nearly as many people as have lived in our small island since the creation of the world. 'T-5119'

So far back as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when England gained for herself a name never to be erased from history, the highest naval and military commanders concurred in the opinion that a conjoint expedition is rarely well-conducted; and I am confident that the heads of the present expedition will agree with me that this one has throughout been retarded by impediments which only can arise where two distinct authorities are employed to effect one end and purpose. '11'

The force as detailed above rendezvoused at Singapore, in April, 1840; and on the 4th of

July our troops were in possession of the island of Chusan, which they entered with little or no opposition. In passing by the mouth of the Canton river, her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries detailed certain ships of the squadron to blockade that port, taking the main body of the force with them as near the seat of government as possible, so as to excite terror in the capital, and to enable them to carry on negotiations with at least the semblance of power to enforce their demands. The authorities of Ningpo were thunderstruck by the occupation of Chusan. The news rapidly reached Peking, new governors and generals were appointed to take command of the provincial cities, to the support of which large reinforcements of troops were directed to proceed.

Our troops were landed on the island of Chusan in high health and spirits, and burning for active employment; a natural distaste and disgust arose when the pacific nature of the expedition was discovered; so great was the dread of exciting a bad feeling and causing discontent among the natives, that our men were obliged to live in

their tents when there were thousands of houses available for that purpose; and without regard to the health of the men, or consulting medical authorities on the subject, positions were laid out for the encampment of the troops.  Parades and guard mountings in full dress, with a thermometer ranging from ninety to a hundred degrees, made the scene resemble the routine of garrison duty in India, and satisfied the heads of departments that they had there a body of hale and healthy men, who, at a moment's notice, were capable of performing any duty that fell to their lot. Alas! how soon had they cause to alter their opinion.

CHAPTER III.

Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries proceed to the Pieho—
Affair at Amoy—Battle of the Barrier—Sickness at
Chusan.

AFTER the delay of several weeks, and the rejection of Lord Palmerston's letter by the provincial authorities, and when all due arrangements for the comfort of our men on shore, and the protection of the coast, had been completed to the satisfaction of the authorities, Admiral Elliot, and his relative Captain Elliot, R.N., Chief Superintendent of Trade in China, joint plenipotentiaries, proceeded with a small proportion of the squadron to the Pieho. The presence even of this force so near the capital caused no small alarm, and communications with the imperial

government became at once respectful, courteous, and pacific. An imperial commission had been directed by the Emperor to proceed thither to meet them. True to his time, Keshen waited their arrival, and received the plenipotentiaries with all due pomp and ceremony. The repeatedly rejected letter was at once received, a long private interview was held, after which the company were regaled with bird's nest and shark's fin soup, truffles (manufactured probably from puppies and kittens), fruits, and in fact every delicacy that China can produce, a full description of which will be found in that interesting little work published by a noble lord, entitled "Six Months with the China Expedition." That the arguments used by Keshen were amicable as well as convincing was certain, for soon after the interview our ships weighed anchor and returned to Chusan. 16 Aug.

Transports, laden with provisions and stores, were now daily arriving at Chusan. The merchants, availing themselves of the protection afforded by the presence of the force, sent their clippers with opium and British manufacture,

both of which, in a short time, found a ready sale among the natives.

The inhabitants of the capital city of Tinghae, who, on our first taking possession of the island, had deserted, gradually regaining confidence, returned. The peculiar attractions of the *tolah* (dollar) and *loopea* (rupee) quite won over the hearts of many. Strangers were by common consent called *fokee*, the Chinese word for friend ; but when there were no interpreters, considerable difficulty arose in explaining matters, as where bullocks, fowls, &c., were required. This, however, gradually wore away ; a language, “ sui generis,” was soon formed, the striking peculiarities of which consisted in imitating the sounds emitted by those animals.

About this time the Blonde frigate (44), in sailing up the coast, went into the harbour of Amoy to deliver a chop, or official despatch, to the authorities there. A boat, carrying a white flag, was sent on shore. Mr. Thom, the interpreter, landed to deliver the chop ; the latter, however, they would not receive, and on returning to his boat he was fired at by some soldiers who

were drawn up on the beach, and who evidently had been sent for on seeing the boat approach. Mr. Thom succeeded in reaching the boat, upon which a brisk fire was now directed. Fortunately, however, no serious injury was done. Guns from several batteries now opened upon the Blonde ; she immediately weighed, stood in, and picked up her boat ; then approaching as near the batteries as the depth of water would permit, skirting the edge of each, she gave the garrison repeated broadsides of canister, grape, and round shot, and then took her departure. Shortly after this, the Alligator, 28 guns, accompanied by the armed transport, Bræmer, were sent from Chusan with directions to make another attempt to send the chop on shore. The same reception awaited them as the Blonde received. The Bræmer, when the firing commenced, thinking discretion the better part of valour, and her native crew saying that they were not paid for fighting, declined to approach within gunshot of the forts ; and the Alligator, already wounded, soon became convinced of the inability of her remaining alone in the position she had taken

up, took to sea also. The Chinese now boasted that on two different occasions they had driven off the barbarian ships. The affair they exaggerated into a great battle. It was reported to the Emperor that, after many hours of hard fighting, in which more than ten ships of war, and several fire-ships (steamers), belonging to the barbarians, were sunk and destroyed, victory was at length decided in favour of the celestial troops, with very trifling loss. Honours, in the shape of peacocks' feathers, white, red, and blue buttons, were consequently showered down upon the victors. ~ ~

While affairs were thus proceeding on the coast, matters began to assume an alarming aspect at Macao, whither all the British merchants had resorted for further security. Commissioner Lin, by whose instigation our countrymen had been imprisoned in 1839, and who, on a former occasion, by his threats, had so intimidated the Governor of Macao as to oblige him to expel all the English from that city, aware that his career was drawing to a close, and hating the very name of Englishman, determined, if pos-

sible, thoroughly to exterminate them. For this purpose, he had recourse to the usual artifice and cunning of his nation. Under the cloak of friendship, he now expressed sorrow for all the mischief he had done, and pretended to grant great favours. All this time he was collecting a large force in the proximity of Macao, of which he himself, it was generally believed, took the command.

The town of Macao, it is necessary here to remark, is built on the peninsula of an island granted to the Portuguese for certain favours rendered, on payment to the Chinese of a rent equal to £300 per annum. On an isthmus, which connects the main body of the island with that small portion inhabited by the Portuguese, a high wall has been built. This wall runs across the isthmus, and is styled the barrier-wall; on it several guns are mounted, and on the Chinese side of the wall are barracks for troops. It was here, then, that Lin concentrated his forces. He strengthened his position on every side by sand-bag batteries. He detached daily his satellites into Macao to mark out the resi-

dences of the English merchants. The day, it was said, was fixed for the massacre. The unusual appearance of so many soldiers in the immediate vicinity of Macao, and about the merchants' houses, naturally caused suspicion and alarm. Reports soon reached the ears of the senior naval officer, which convinced him that firm and decided measures must at once be taken to drive the Chinese from their position. With his usual promptitude, Captain Smith at once prepared to attack them. Taking with him, therefore, two companies of the Bengal Volunteer Corps, H. M.'s ships Hyacinth and Larne, both 18 guns, and the Enterprise steamer, he proceeded to the barrier. The volunteers, and as many jacks and marines as could be collected, were landed about a mile from, and on the Chinese side of, the barrier. The ships took up their positions, and at once opened their guns upon the batteries ; our troops on shore, when the firing had in a measure subsided, advanced and cut off the flight of the cowardly enemy ; some war-junks, on the opposite side of the isthmus to that held by us, cut their cables and

put to sea—two of them, however, had been sunk by the shot from the Hyacinth. Lin, it was supposed, had early in the day taken flight in an open boat to Canton by the back passage. Such was the activity with which Captain Smith put his resolves into execution, that the enemy were quite taken by surprise; nor was it till after the firing had begun that the inhabitants of Macao became sensible of the presence of an armed force. That Captain Smith, by this gallant action, and the promptitude with which it was effected, was the means of saving the lives of the British community at Macao, there cannot be a doubt. 3 \

The month of October had now commenced, and each arrival from Chusan brought with it the most gloomy reports of the insalubrity of the island and the health of our men. This had long been foretold. It required no gifted soothsayer to prognosticate what the results would be, where men were placed in tents pitched on low paddy fields, surrounded by stagnant water, putrid and stinking from quantities of dead animal and vegetable matter. Under a sun hotter than that

ever experienced in India, the men on duty were buckled up to the throat in their full dress coatees ; and in consequence of there being so few camp followers, fatigue parties of Europeans were daily detailed to carry provisions and stores from the ships to the tents, and to perform all menial employments, which, experience has long taught us, they cannot stand in a tropical climate. The poor men, working like slaves, began to sink under the exposure and fatigue. Bad provisions, low spirits, and despondency, drove them to drink. This increased their liability to disease, and in the month of November there were barely 500 effective men in the force. A sort of infatuation seemed to possess the minds of the authorities. Medical men, as is often the case, were put down as croakers, their recommendations were neither listened nor attended to. True, it was reported that the general was one day about to visit the hospitals, but when almost at the door of one, some pressing business called him away. Once, also, the Admiral and Captain Elliot were known to have walked through the hospital of H. M. 26th regiment. There were

at that time upwards of 400 poor sick fellows on mats, stretched on the ground—many, alas! never to rise from it.² This melancholy sight called forth expressions of pity and compassion. The surgeon was directed to spare no expense—to procure everything he considered necessary—to be unremitting in his exertions, and to make application to the admiral direct if aught was wanted. The surgeon recommended that a ship should be laid apart as an hospital ship, and that another should be given to take a portion of convalescents to sea, for change of air. Unfortunately, however, there were no ships available at that time!

We will bring this melancholy picture to a close, and trust that soon a change for the better will take place—that a new order of things will be established.

CHAPTER IV.

Wreck of the Indian Oak and Kite Transports—Capture of
Captain Anstruther.

THE transport, Indian Oak, sailed from Chusan in August, with despatches for the Governor-General, and in October, a boat belonging to that ship reached the harbour of Chusan, bringing intelligence of her total loss on the coast of Lew Chew. The islanders treated the passengers and crew in the most friendly manner, fully bearing out the character given them by Basil Hall. On the ship going on the rocks, the inhabitants collected in great numbers on the shore, offering every assistance to save the shipwrecked crew—not to imprison, starve, and torture, but to feed and clothe them. Wandering along the beach,

they collected portions of the wreck, all of which they handed over to the owners. They immediately set to work to build a ship, to enable them to leave the island, and on the arrival of H. M. ships Nimrod and Cruizer, which the Commadore had dispatched for the relief of the crew, the little craft was ready for sea, and actually conveyed them from the island of Lew Chew to Chusan ; nor would the hospitable islanders receive any reward for what they had done.

Contrast the description of the above wreck with that of the Kite, armed transport, which took place about the same time on the coast of China. This vessel struck on a quicksand, in which she immediately sunk, as far as the main-top-mast. To this the survivors clung for life, with the exception of the captain's wife, Mrs. Noble, Lieutenant Douglas, R.N., and two cabin-boys, who succeeded in getting into one of the ship's boats, but without sails and without food, and almost naked. After tossing about for a couple of days, the boat drifted on shore. Here Mrs. Noble was forcibly separated from her companions in misfortune : a heavy chain was put

round her neck, and by this she was dragged, bare-footed and bare-headed, through rivers and over rocks, a distance of upwards of twenty miles. Hungry and tired, she leant on her keepers for support. In passing through cities, the inhabitants crowded around her, hooting and yelling frightfully ; and when permitted to rest, the chain round her neck was fastened to a ring in the prison wall. The Chinese at Canton, at no time would permit an European woman to proceed up the river to the British factories ; and even from those who were brought to Macao they exacted a large fine for presuming to come to their country. Here, therefore, where never European male nor female had ever trod, the appearance of Mrs. Noble caused the greatest excitement. Crowds from all parts flocked to see her. They examined her height, the size of her feet, the length of her hair, and, in short, scrutinized her most minutely. She, poor woman, suffering much both in body and in mind, for she had lost a husband and a child in the wreck, was obliged patiently to bear all ! When all appeared satisfied, she was placed in a cage one yard high,

three-quarters of a yard long, and half a yard broad. The chain round her neck was locked to the top, and heavy irons were placed on her hands and feet ; a long bamboo was then passed through the middle of the cage, at either end of which a man was placed. For two days and nights was she carried about in this cage, nor was she permitted to get out on any account whatever. At length she reached Ningpo, where she had the satisfaction to meet with Lieutenant Douglas, and all those that survived of the crew of the Kite, the latter having been taken off by a native boat. They were now all placed in prison, heavily chained. How different is the treatment these unfortunate people received from that the crew of the Indian Oak met with in Lew Chew ; and yet this latter island is tributary to China.

The dull monotony existing at Chusan from the difficulty of communication with the island during the prevailing N.E. monsoon, and the melancholy gloom cast over all in consequence of the continued great mortality among the troops, drove the officers to their shifts for means to pass the time. /⁷ Some were satisfied with laying in bed

all day ; others, more active, formed shooting excursions ; while others, anxious to acquire knowledge and to communicate it to the world, profiting by their education, commenced a survey of the island. Captain Anstruther, of the Madras Artillery, was one of the latter. On the morning of the 16th Sept. he had gone out as usual to survey, taking along with him his old Lascar. In the evening, at mess, he was nowhere to be found. Inquiry was immediately made, but to no purpose ; an armed party scoured the island in search, but no trace of either he or his Lascar could be discovered. A general favourite with all, he was very much missed and regretted ; the worst was dreaded, and the anxiety and fear of all were much increased by a circumstance, in itself trifling, which had happened the evening before he disappeared : an officer, in passing by Captain Anstruther's tent on the evening in question, was surprised to hear moaning and groaning within. Fearing some one was unwell, he immediately entered, and, to his surprise, perceived Anstruther on his bed, writhing as if from pain. On approaching he found him fast asleep ; and

on being awoke, he said that he had been dreaming that the Chinese had surrounded him while out surveying, that they were binding him hand and foot, and that he was struggling to extricate himself, when he was awakened. The dream was told as a good joke that night at mess, and nothing further was thought of it, until some one recalled it to the recollection of all on the following evening, when he was missing. As will afterwards be shewn, the chief features of Captain Anstruther's dream turned out true, which certainly goes to prove that the theory of dreams is not always fallacious. 13. 1. 1855

CHAPTER V.

Arrival of the 37th M. N. I. in China—A typhoon in the China seas—Her Majesty's plenipotentiaries return from Chusan, and proceed with the force to the Canton river—The admiral goes home.

IN noticing the arrival of a native regiment in China, we would call the attention of our readers to the importance of our Indian settlements in carrying out a warfare with the celestial empire ; not only do we find the Governor-General of India made, as it were, the fountain head of the expedition, but it is from that vast country, over which he holds almost imperial sway, that we are enabled, from its proximity and natural qualifications, to derive our supplies, our transports and their crews, and even the greater portion of our army, whether European or native.

In a conversation with the Governor of Macao, this latter was heard to observe, that no other nation save England *could* at this moment engage in a war of this description. “For,” said he, “you have the key to all difficulties in its operation—India, a country whence you may derive all the means of warfare ;” and, in truth, his Excellency, whatever his real feelings towards the invaders may be, was right in this respect.

With regard to native corps proceeding on foreign service, there is a wide distinction between the Bengal, and what the Bengalees are pleased to term the ‘minor’ presidency—Madras. In the former, it is necessary to call for volunteers from the various regiments to form the number requisite, whereas, in the latter, any one regiment among the fifty-two ordered, has but to make its salaam for the honour, and obey. This is attributed by the Bengalees to superiority of caste, but we need not say which of the two is the most advantageous. The 37th regiment, N. I., sailed from Madras, in August, fully equipped for field service, and mustering about 1000 bayonets. The men marched to the beach

for embarkation, the air ringing with their native "deen," or war-cry. The transport Golconda, with the head quarters, sailed first; the Minerva, Sophia, and Thetis, following her in a few days. In the China seas, we fell in with one of those fearful typhoons, so frequently met with here; and in lat. 16°, on the 22nd September, the very date and place in which Horsburgh remarks, "A typhoon may here be expected," was the Thetis dismasted and rendered helpless; the ship was permitted to drift with wind and tide, till, on the storm abating, jury masts were raised. On the 29th September she was close to the island of Tyloo, on a lee-shore, about forty miles from Macao, and in six fathom water. Here they cast anchor, which was hardly done when the ship was surrounded with hundreds of very suspicious-looking boats, evidently Ladrones. The presence of so many troops on board must, however, have terrified them, for they soon departed. A fisherman was enticed on board, and with the assistance of the carpenter, a Chinaman, it was explained to him that if he took a letter to Macao, leaving his family, who were in the boat, as host-

ages, on his return he would receive a reward of 300 dollars. The man agreed ; his trust he executed faithfully ; and on the third day after his departure, he made his appearance in the Enterprise steamer, to the joy of all. The Thetis was towed to Tonkoo Bay, where the protection afforded by the senior naval officer induced all the merchant ships to resort for the purpose of trade. After an ineffectual attempt to reach Chusan, the N.E. monsoon having set in, the Minerva and Sophia also returned to this anchorage. The men were encamped on the small island of Saw Chow opposite to this bay. Barren and uninhabitable, this island possessed not one solitary advantage. It consists of three conical-shaped hills ; on the shoulder of the largest, and on a small intervening plain, the encampment was placed. Here were also 200 men of the Bengal Volunteer corps. Reports soon became current that a large body of troops was about to come from Canton to drive us off this island. We were, therefore, obliged to be on the *qui vive*, more especially as, shortly before our arrival, an attempt was made to set fire to the shipping by

fire rafts. On the island of Lantow, distant about a couple of miles, was a Chinese camp. The soldiers were daily to be seen at drill, but they never molested us. The men, shortly after being landed, began to suffer much from sickness, attributable, in a great degree, to their exposed situation. It is but justice here to remark, that to the zeal and attention of Captain Smith, of the *Druid*, senior naval officer, were the officers and men on this island indebted for every comfort that could be procured.

On the 20th November, the Admiral and Captain Elliot arrived from Chusan; it having been stipulated by Keshen, that in consideration that affairs would terminate peaceably, one-third of the force should be removed from Chusan, a general truce should be proclaimed, and negotiations should be carried on at Canton, to which city he himself should proceed for that purpose with all practicable despatch. Never did wily statesman so gull "John Bull" as on this occasion. Relying "on the scrupulous good faith of the very eminent person with whom negotiations were pending," the plenipotentiaries at once

agreed to the terms asked for. How foolish! and how often since that period has England had cause to regret placing the honour of the country in the hands of two such imbeciles. Had the force at first destroyed the forts on the Bocca Tigris, and afterwards the city of Canton, where the cause of the present quarrel originated, and then proceeded to the Pieho, there, removed only eighty miles from the capital of China, to insist on their demands, the best informed in Chinese matters are of opinion that they would never have had reason to enforce them.

The Admiral took with him the three line of battle ships, Wellesley, Melville, and Blenheim, the Queen steamer, and Volage, 26 guns, which, with the fleet at this anchorage, (consisting of the Druid, 44, Calliope, Samarang, and Herald, 28 guns; Larne, Hyacinth, Modeste, and Columbine, corvettes; and Sulphur, Starling, and Louisa, surveying ships,) formed a very powerful naval force. The troops, consisting of the 37th regiment, M.N.I., and a detachment of the Bengal Volunteers, a few days after the arrival of the Admiral, embarked on board their respective

transports, and proceeded, in company with the fleet, to the mouth of the Canton river.

The head quarters of the 37th regiment, which had sailed from Madras in the Golconda, some days previous to the other portion of the corps, had not, unfortunately, yet arrived. Much anxiety was felt for their safety.

The Admiral, being seriously unwell, was, on the 4th December, obliged to throw up his command, and return home in the Volage. Captain Elliot was now sole plenipotentiary to H.M. in China.

CHAPTER VI.

A visit to Macao—Camoens' Cave—Small-feet women.

WHEN weeks had passed in tiresome and unsatisfactory negotiations between the British and celestial powers, in company with several others, I availed myself of an opportunity which occurred to visit Macao. This city, as has already been remarked, is built on the peninsula of an island, called, by the Chinese, *Gowman*. The extreme breadth of the Portuguese settlement is about three quarters of a mile, and its length three miles. The chief beauty of the town consists in a long line of well-built houses on the beach, with a broad walk in front, called the *Pria Grande*. On the heights above the town, forts are built, which certainly have the appearance of strength

from without, but a glance into the interior (which the Portuguese are not fond of granting) will at once convince the most superficial observer, that they would soon yield even to a small nine-pounder battery. True, there are large guns in their forts, but like those of the Chinese, they have vent-holes large enough to allow the thumb to enter; and their gun carriages would certainly tumble to pieces in the first fire. The British merchants are the sole prop and support of the town; independent of the money circulated by them, two-thirds of the revenue is derived from a tax levied upon their goods and property.

The Chinese authorities exercise supreme sway over the city. In a few hours they have the power of stopping all supplies; not a house can be built, nay, even a door cannot be made to communicate between one house and another, without first obtaining the permission of the resident mandarin to do so. Robberies and assaults are of common occurrence in the city, but no redress can be obtained; the Portuguese hand the party over to the Chinese authorities,

who, in return, refer them to the Portuguese. 2
The majority of the Portuguese inhabitants are the most wretched miserable looking beings possible. From constant intermarriages with the Chinese, it is with difficulty that the natives of the two separate countries can be distinguished, and with the exception of the governor and his staff, there is not one family with whom the English associate.

There are about three hundred soldiers in the town, all of whom originally came from Goa and other Portuguese settlements in India. They are respectful, and well-dressed. The pay their officers receive appears miserably small in our estimation, though they themselves live very comfortably on it. An ensign receives eight dollars, a lieutenant ten, and a captain twenty dollars a month, besides perquisites. 3

The greatest attraction in Macao is Mr. Beale's aviary, where the noble bird of paradise is seen. This bird has been in Mr. Beale's possession for upwards of twenty years. Another place worth visiting is Camoens' Cave. It is situated in the centre of a large garden, and is formed by several

immense piles of granite rocks, thrown as if casually together, a large hollow space being left in the centre. It was here that Camoens composed the *Lusiades*. An inscription over his tomb denotes that he was born in 1524, and died in 1579.

The chief curiosity to be seen at Macao is an occasional small-foot woman. I was most anxious to see and examine one of them, but my repeated attempts to accomplish this proved abortive, till at length, through the kindness and influence of a friend, I succeeded. This is really a most extraordinary deformity. That the human foot was capable of being reduced by mere compression to the size of those model-shoes we have all seen at home, I never could bring myself to believe till now. The smaller the foot is, the more it is considered, by the Chinese, as a beauty. If the girl promise to be handsome, she is invariably crippled, so as to give the finishing touch to her beauty. In the interior of the country, the habit is universal among rich and poor; but here, only those who have some pretension to rank undergo the operation.

The poor creatures with the "lily feet," as they term it, totter along, like one shuffling on their heels only, without putting the fore part of the foot to the ground. They stump about with great apparent ease, but I certainly cannot agree with those who say it adds gracefulness to their gait. They reminded me, when first I saw them, of a boy walking on stilts. The miserable creature destined to undergo this deformity, is, in infancy and before the bones are completely ossified, placed in the operator's hands. Shoes of pasteboard, or leather, and in obstinate cases, of wood or iron, are made to fit close to the foot: these are retained *in situ* by a tight bandage. ^{It} If properly applied at first, it is not removed until the foot is considered to be formed. Less pressure is afterwards required, though a certain degree of this is necessary throughout life to cramp and impede the growth of the foot. The young lady now presented to the reader was about twenty-five years of age. For a Chinawoman she was tall and well made, plump, rosy features, chubby-cheeked, and delicately florid complexion. On being introduced, she bowed gracefully, and

directed me to a seat. Having previously been prepared to receive me, little explanation was necessary. My friend, therefore, walked out, and left us alone. I must confess, I now felt exceedingly puzzled how to proceed. She understood only Chinese and a little Portuguese, neither of which languages was I versed in. We were not above a few minutes alone, when she burst into an immoderate fit of laughter. This gave me confidence ; and, intent on my object, I pointed to her feet, and was advancing towards her, whereupon she immediately sprung from her seat and disappeared at a side door with a rapidity I never could have given her credit for. Annoyed at having been thus used, I returned to my friend, who was in an adjoining room, and requested his intercession. The young lady again appeared, but she would not permit me to touch the deformed limb till it was explained to her that I was a doctor, and merely wished to examine her foot to satisfy curiosity, and that I would not divulge what I had seen, (for they cannot bear its being afterwards repeated that their feet have been submitted to the gaze of any of the

other sex, more especially to barbarians,) and till, what was perhaps the best *placebo* of all, I had slipped a few dollars into the pocket of her apron. When again left alone, she unfolded the bandage, on the removal of which, the state of filth the foot presented convinced me that the general opinion is correct—viz., that the limb is seldom exposed, even for the purpose of cleanliness. A cursory glance at the deformed limb would lead even a professional man to suppose that a partial amputation had been performed, wherein the metatarsal bones (those immediately articulating with the toes) had been removed. On a closer inspection, the great toe was found to end in a sharp rough point, having at its extremity what might either be construed into a shapeless nail, or a portion of bone protruding, from not having been properly protected by the flap after an amputation. On the upper surface of the foot there was no peculiar appearance, save that the smaller toes appeared to terminate in a knuckle-like point. On examining the sole of the foot, I was surprised to see the four small

toes bent under and deeply imbedded in the soft substance of the foot, and in a wonderful degree capable of flexion and extension. In the foot itself there was no motion, the joint, I presume, having been ankylosed (or a bony union formed) by constant pressure. This, however, I afterwards found not to be the case, for on examining a skeleton foot I found the bones all separate, but displaced. The ancle was thickened, its capability of motion being in a great degree curtailed. The calf of the leg was round and well proportioned. The extreme length of the foot was three inches and a quarter ; yet, when properly bandaged and shod, this young lady hobbled up and down her stair with apparent ease.

The pain and irritation excited by the horrid process of cramping the foot, as well as the want of exercise, must, it will be supposed, materially injure the general health. This, however, is not allowed to be the case. Subsequent to the above period, I met some children who were passing through the usual ordeal of perfecting beauty, whose pallid, sickly look contrasted greatly with

the healthy, rude appearance of the poorer Chinese, who teach their children at a very early age to assist in all domestic employments.

It would be as difficult to account for the origin of this barbarous practice of the Chinese, as for that of squeezing the waists of English women out of all natural shape by stays, or flattening the heads amongst the natives on the Columbia. 16

CHAPTER VII.

Letter from Captain Anstruther — Melancholy accounts from Chusan — The missing Golconda — The Nemesis Steamer.

WHEN last we parted with Captain Anstruther, we left our readers in uncertainty as to the fate of that officer, let them not, however, for a moment suppose that his brother officers remained inactive in the matter. Anstruther had frequently, on his return in the evening, amused his companions with the occurrences of the day—how he had met with such assistance and extraordinary attention on the part of the Chinese—how they used to collect about him, examine every portion of his dress, his instruments, his sketches, &c.—and how, at length, they became so familiarized with each other, that while one

sat for his likeness, others surrounded him, and, looking over his shoulder, admired the resemblances. He was repeatedly warned not to permit such familiarity, and that from the well-known character of the Chinese, he should treat them as rogues until they proved themselves honest men. He was confident they meant him no harm. Their laughing, good-natured countenances so dispelled all alarm, that latterly he went out without his pistols, and sometimes alone. This was what the cunning scoundrels all along aimed at. 20

The direction he had taken on the day he disappeared was well known ; thither, therefore, his friends, with an armed party, directed their steps, and seizing the head men of the villages, threatened them with death unless they immediately divulged all they knew on the subject. The cringing cowards at length confessed that he had been carried off to Ningpo by an armed party of soldiers, who, in disguise, had been watching him some days ; and prostrating themselves to the earth, declared that they were in no way instrumental in capturing him. When it had been

satisfactorily ascertained that this story was correct, application was made to the authorities to insist upon and enforce the release, not only of Captain Anstruther, but also of the whole of the other prisoners at Ningpo. This, however, they declined, although the whole of them had been seized after the truce agreed upon at the Pieho had been sealed. When all resorts to effect a communication privately with the captives by their friends at Chusan had failed, Anstruther himself, by his peculiarly fascinating and winning manners, met with better success. One evening, towards the beginning of the month of November, a man made his appearance in the artillery camp. He was the bearer of a private letter from Anstruther to Colonel Montgomerie, commanding his corps. From that day till the period of his release this man was true to his employer. Previous to this period, however, official intercourse was carried on with the mandarins at Ningpo, who made no objections to receive money, clothes, and provisions for the prisoners, all of which were scrupulously handed over to them.

The following extract of a letter, written by Captain Anstruther in prison, and forwarded to his friends, at Chusan, by his faithful Blondell, as he termed him, on account of his loyalty and honesty, I must here insert, as explaining fully and particularly the manner in which he was captured, and his treatment in prison :—

“ On Wednesday, 16th September, 1840, I left camp at ten o'clock, A.M., and passed out from the northern gate of Tinghae, about 1000 or 1200 yards, where there are several houses and gardens, and from whence a road branches off to the westward. Proceeding along this road, I ascended the pass between the hills, and then, turning to the left, gained the top of a knoll, where I pitched a small flag, and took sundry bearings, in order to facilitate the survey in which I was engaged. 2. 11.

“ From the knoll, I went to the westward of the pass, and in a very short time was sensible that I had gone too far. My path led by a joss-house on the right, which was so overhung with trees on each side, as to make it quite dark. I determined, so soon as I could get through this

dark and dangerous-looking place, to return to camp ; but on reaching the end of the grove, I found that I was followed by a crowd. I now turned to the left, meaning to ascend the hill again. I had hardly turned, when a Chinese soldier, rushing out from the crowd, struck furiously at my only attendant, an old Lascar, who, to avoid the blow, and in great alarm, ran up to me. Taking from him the iron spade which he had used to pitch the flag-staff, I met the soldier and drove him back, but a number of others, armed with double-pronged spears, renewed the charge. I now bade the Lascar to make the best of his way up the hill, thinking the Chinese would only follow me ; but the faithful old man refused to leave me ; moreover, the armed people collected on the hill-side, so as to cut off, if possible, all chance of escape in that direction ; I therefore determined to attempt to force my way through the long valley.

“ I am but a bad runner, and my poor old servant was worse ; so I went slowly along the valley, turning round now and then to keep the Chinese at bay. Meantime the whole population

of the valley gathered with loud shouts in our front, and it was evidently a hopeless job. I could not get my old man to leave me and try to escape unnoticed, so we went on together. At a turn in the path, I was opposed by a few scoundrels with sticks and stones. I charged them, and they all got round me, and then my poor old man ran back about 80 yards, where he was struck down. I have an inexpressible reluctance to write what follows, but must. I attempted to force my way towards him, but could not; and I saw the inhuman villains pounding his head with large stones, as he lay with his face downward. I cannot doubt that he died.

“ I now saw that attempt at flight was useless, and, expecting a fate similar to that of my Lascar, I set to work to make the rascals pay for it, and fought my best—numbers of course prevailed, and I was knocked down. Instead of dashing out my brains, they bound me hand and foot, and tied a large gag in my mouth. Then taking a large bamboo, they hammered my knees just over the knee-cap, to prevent any possibility of escape. I was then carried to a village about ten

miles west of the camp. Here we waited till night-fall, my conductors comforting me by repeating the word Ningpo, and by drawing their hands across their throats. At midnight I was placed in a boat, and arrived at Ningpo in the afternoon of the following day. I was now sent to jail, and forced into a cage one yard long, one yard high, and two feet wide. In this cage, heavy irons were placed on my hands and feet, an iron ring attached to the roof of the cage was put round my neck, to which my handcuffs were also locked. At night, a chain was also locked to my leg-irons, and the jailer, with a light, slept close to me. 2'

“These irons weighed, I suppose, about 18lbs., and were worn by me for four weeks. I was frequently taken before the magistrates, who at all times inquired particularly about our steamers. One day I offered to sketch one, which sketch so pleased their honours, that they gave me a good dinner, and some hot water to wash off the blood and dirt which had accumulated during the struggle. I found my head handsomely laid open to the bone—my legs and arms co-

vered with bruises, but no wounds of any consequence.

“ Some days after my capture, I was surprised to meet at the magistrate’s, Mrs. Noble, my friend Lieut. Douglas of the navy, and several Europeans, who informed me they had been wrecked on the coast, and had been carried prisoners into Ningpo.”

From this period the prisoners met with better treatment, chiefly through the intercessions of Capt. Anstruther. The mandarins were very fond of having their portraits taken, and as Anstruther excelled in this art, he was, therefore, frequently brought before them. At first he was all submission; latterly, however, he claimed, as a reward for his labours, either better food or more extended liberty, until which was granted, he withheld the picture if taken, or refused altogether to sketch one.

There is an amusing anecdote told of him when in confinement, which is said to have come in a private letter from himself. One day a mandarin sent him a very savoury stew, garnished with sharks’ fins and birds’ nests, in com-

pensation for a likeness which he had taken of the nodding gentleman. Anstruther having tasted the delicious contents, gave an inquisitive look at the attendant, and pointing to the stew, said—"Quack, quack, quack?" The servant shook his head, and replied, "Bow, wow, wow."

It has been well remarked—"That the most fatal and mischievous errors are constantly occurring from the want of some distinct and well-defined knowledge of military hygeiana, will be self-evident to all who study, with a sufficient degree of care and attention, the history of the Anglo-Indian army, from the earliest occupation of the country to the present day. The improper selection of encamping grounds, the malposition of barracks and lines, the undue exposure of the men to the noxious influence of the atmosphere, the misdirected zeal of many commanding officers in fixing upon injurious times for parades, punishments, &c., have furnished a frightful catalogue of mortality, far outnumbering the devastating destruction of the sword, or the deadly march of the most destructive pestilence. It is

painful to contemplate the reckless waste of human life and large expenditure of treasure which have resulted from these and similar causes, completely within the control of man, and requiring the exercise of a very small amount of intellect and trouble on the part of those upon whose fiat the fate of thousands depends." As an illustration of the truth of these remarks, many instances are familiar to all, such as the Walcheren expedition, the destruction of the French army sent to re-conquer Saint Domingo, and our recent occupation of Chusan. From this latter settlement the most heart-rending accounts continued to be received. The 26th Cameronians suffered most. This regiment, which sailed from Calcutta upwards of 900 strong—a pattern to all other corps for sobriety and good conduct, its average mortality during the previous ten years being barely twenty—was, in the short space of three months, reduced to 291. The entire amount of force on the island did not, on the 1st of January, 1841, exceed 1900 men. Many hundred coffins were found on first taking possession of Chusan, it being a common habit

with the Chinese, when they become independent, to get a coffin made, and keep it by them till their death. These coffins were at first found useful for fire-wood, but as applications for them increased, this means of disposing of them was put a stop to. It was by no means an uncommon occurrence for an application to be made to the fort adjutant, for nine, twelve, and upwards daily. At length deaths became so common, that neither coffins were required, nor were military honours paid the departed. Heaped one upon another, the corpses were consigned to the earth, and thought no more of. Several of the houses in the suburbs being still unoccupied by the Chinese, it was now agreed upon by all that our men should enter them, more especially as the cold weather had set in. From this period dates the improvement in the health of the force.

Encounters, some of an amusing nature, were of frequent occurrence about this time at Chusan. On one occasion, two middies—one fifteen, the other thirteen years old—went out on a foraging excursion for the benefit of their mess. They had taken the precaution to carry with them a

double-barrelled gun, loaded with ball. Proceeding inland, they soon met a Fokee in charge of a flock of goats. The younger of the boys now tried to strike a bargain, and sporting his dollars rather too freely, advanced towards the latter, who, however, instead of receiving the dollars, caught the boy in his arms and was running away with him. His progress, however, was soon stopped ; the elder boy having, on seeing his companion seized, advanced, and placing the muzzle of his piece to the Chinaman's ear, blew his brains out ; whereupon some men who were looking on proceeded to seize the boys. The latter stood still till the foremost was within shot. The younger boy now snatching the gun out of his companion's hand, said it was his turn now to have a shot. He fired, and lodged the contents of the second barrel in the man's chest. The remainder of the Chinamen, not much liking the aspect of affairs, took to their heels. 13. 1. 1.

All hope of the ill-fated "Golconda" was now at an end. With reference to this subject it was remarked, in a Bengal journal—"The last account which we are ever likely to hear of

the unfortunate Golconda is now given. She was seen in the China seas, all well, on the 18th September, 1840. Soon afterwards came on the terrific gale, in which she is supposed to have perished, with one half the officers and men of the 37th regiment Madras Native Infantry. This vessel was unseaworthy, and was known to be such before she was engaged. No conscientious man would have risked the lives of others in her." It will be recollected, that it was on the 22nd September that the Thetis was dismasted and so nearly lost. On that date, too, it is supposed the Golconda must have foundered. This is an awful warning of the results of engaging inferior class vessels for transport service. The mortality on this occasion far exceeded that which attended the ill-starred President.

Early in December, the Nemesis, steamer, direct from England, joined the fleet. She was a great acquisition to the force : being built entirely of iron, and drawing only four feet water, she is in every way well adapted for the creeks and shoal water in this neighbourhood, in which the war-junks take refuge on being hard pushed.

Captain Hall, R.N., her commander, is a bold and resolute officer, whose repeated acts of gallantry have already been rewarded by Her Majesty, and have called forth the admiration and praise of all who have been witness to them. 153/08

CHAPTER VIII.

Treacherous conduct of the imperial commissioner—Massacre of six mandarins—Battles of Cheumpee and Tycoctow.

KESHEN'S first act on reaching Canton was to release the Rev. Mr. Stanton and other prisoners who had been seized at Macao shortly before his arrival. All gave him credit for acting with openness and honesty ; an ample apology was made for an accidental shot that had been fired on a flag of truce in the Queen steamer, and which divided one of the iron bars of her paddle-wheel ; and negotiations went on. Keshen gave out that the full power of settling all differences rested with him, that he held the imperial sign manual, and that he ardently desired to bring things to a favourable termination. 15

Lin, who it was at one time supposed had been recalled, was still suspected to be at Canton, and by command of his sovereign directed to watch over Keshen's acts. At this time the reply of Captain Elliot always was, "Negotiations are proceeding satisfactorily, and in ten days or a fortnight all will be settled." Thus nearly two months passed over our heads, during which time workmen were seen employed, day and night, in strengthening and extending the batteries and defences on shore. At those of Cheumpee, removed about gun-shot range from the more advanced ships of the squadron, troops were daily collecting, and their out-posts becoming more numerous. Boats which supplied the ships with fresh meat and vegetables, and had accompanied them from Saw Chow, would not now leave the ships, to which they respectively attached themselves, and proceed on shore for supplies, giving as a reason that they were afraid of being seized by the mandarins. It was evident to all that a crisis was approaching. From Tonkoo Bay, and the neighbourhood of Lintin, where, as has been shewn, the whole of the mer-

chant fleet lay, intelligence was received of that nature which convinced us all that Keshen was playing a double part. That crafty minister, well knowing that the chief portion of our force was at anchor off Cheumpee, at which place he had collected a large land and sea force, sufficient in his opinion, if not for aggressive, at any rate for defensive purposes, resolved as a primary measure to destroy the merchant shipping. With that view he constructed fire rafts on a great scale, and directing his emissaries to superintend this work of destruction, he established, it was generally supposed, his own head quarters at the Bocca Tigris, which is distant about a league from the batteries of Cheumpee. Deep as his schemes were, they did not escape our notice; in fact, his own countrymen were the first to publish them. The mandarins who had been sent to Tonkoo Bay, six in number, were prowling about the villages situated in that neighbourhood, for the purpose, not only of collecting volunteers to their ranks, but also of taking down the names and description of those Chinamen who supported and frequented the shipping.

Here, however, they reckoned without their host ; their purpose becoming suspected, the latter were forced to adopt measures of self-defence. Taking the party by surprise, a scuffle, in which several lives were lost, ensued, and the mandarins fell into the hands of the mob. The chief they boiled alive in oil, and the five others, bound hand and foot, were chained in a boat which had previously been filled with combustibles of every description, and drifting out to sea with the tide, suffered a fearful and awful death. Even the vacillating Elliot now began to suspect treachery, more especially as Keshen had refused to reply to, and latterly even did not acknowledge, any of his communications. An imperial edict was about this time received and widely circulated in Canton and other provincial cities, breathing forth everlasting extermination to the barbarians, and annulling the armistice announced in the month of November. Affairs were in this state, when, on the 6th of January, it was determined that if no communication was received from Keshen before the following morning, the forts and out-works of Che-

umpee and Tycoctow should be stormed—the latter being on the western side of the channel, and built in shape like a horse-shoe, having a powerful battery of 25 guns fronting the water. This appears a favourite mode with the Chinese of constructing their forts, the side walls being intended not only to check the approach of an enemy, but also for the purpose of preventing the escape of their own soldiers.) Those of Cheumpee, for they consisted of an extended line of batteries, are on the eastern side of their river, and separated from the forts of Anunghoi by Anson's Bay. On the hill, immediately above the fort of Cheumpee, is a watch tower, around which a strong fortification had recently been built, and guns planted. In the valleys, between hills, and at every position at which an approach was likely to be made, temporary stockades had been erected, and to the south of the hill fort of Cheumpee, a high wall was built, which extended to the base of the hill, partially encircling it ; it then stretched across a deep valley, and up the face of an adjoining hill. Along this wall was a deep dry fosse ; on its summit were

broken glass and sharp spikes, and pieces of bamboo in shape of *chevaux de frize*, and strongly palisaded at all points. None of those latter defences were in existence when the fleet originally arrived off Cheumpee.

The period allotted to receive a reply from Keshen having expired, on the morning of the 7th, the troops disembarked on the island of Cheumpee, at a small bay, removed from the enemy's position about three miles, and separated from it by rising ground and intervening valleys. The land force was commanded by Major Pratt, H. M. 26th regiment, and consisted of Royal Artillery, and marines, and seamen, 674 ; 37th regiment, M. N. I., 607 ; and Bengal Volunteers, 76. They were also joined by about 100 invalids who had about this time arrived from Chusan. The artillery, with one brass howitzer and two nine-pounders, took up a commanding position, about 300 yards from the hill fort. H. M. ships Calliope, Larne, and Hyacinth, under Captain Herbert, proceeded to bombard the lower fort, while the steamers, Nemesis and Queen, threw shells into the hill

fort and entrenchments on the inner side—the Wellesley and other large ships moving up into mid-channel, in case they might be required. The enemy kept up an uninterrupted fire for about an hour, the balls passing over our heads. Had their guns been a little more depressed, much mischief would have been done. When their firing had slackened a little, the infantry advanced. Three companies of the 37th regiment were detached to intercept the enemy in their flight, the main body of the force advancing directly upon the wall, already mentioned as partially surrounding the base of the hill.* On the wall were several small field pieces and ginjalls, and from behind it matchlock men were directing their fire upon our advance. Barbed rockets, arrows, &c., were also showered down upon us in great numbers. After a short struggle, we succeeded in clearing this wall ; the column then divided, one portion ascending towards the hill fort, while the other proceeded round the base of the hill to the lower fort. The former was found deserted, but from the latter, and from a wooded hill near it, the enemy still

kept up a brisk fire. A party of marines soon dislodged them from the wooded hill, and our well-directed fire upon the lower fort soon obliged the Chinese to evacuate it. The flying enemy were now mowed down in every direction. Finding escape no longer possible, they concealed themselves wherever opportunity offered, some in out-houses and behind walls, and thence, when not perceived, attacking their captors, which soon brought upon themselves indiscriminate slaughter; others, taking to the water, met with the same fate, and those who, from the distance they had gone from the fort, had flattered themselves that their escape was safe, were cut off by the detached companies of the 37th regiment. Several small mines had exploded during the day, without doing much injury. It was when all was over, and the troops were resting after the fatigues of the day, that a large mine exploded, in which, with several others, I happened to sustain some injury, having been not only exalted several feet, but also considerably scorched, and bruised by the fall of bricks and other missiles.

The Nemesis meantime was engaged in burning and destroying the war-junks in the neighbourhood. The first congreve rocket she fired passed through the magazine of the admiral's junk, and blew her up with a crew of 150 men. Thirteen junks, in all, were destroyed; the steamer followed them into the creeks, and with her grappling-irons dragged several out at a time, and afterwards set fire to them, the shot in their guns going off as they became heated. In the forts of Cheumpee there were 82 guns, and in the war-junks about the same number. The strength of the enemy in this position was about 2000, of whom 600 must have been killed, and as many wounded. In the meantime the fort of Tycoctow was attacked and carried by the division under command of Captain Scott, consisting of the Druid, Samarang, Modeste, and Columbine. In half an hour from the commencement, a practicable breach was made in this fort. The crews landed, and, entering the breach, carried the place by storm. In doing this there was some hard fighting; the Chinese, displaying determination and strength, were

soon, however, obliged to yield. At this fort there were about thirty dead bodies discovered, but many were found afterwards, on the sides of the hills above the fort, who had died of their wounds.

Thus, after an engagement of a few hours, fell Cheumpee and Tycoctow. The former (fortunately for its moral effect) was carried chiefly by the land forces. The Chinese allow us to be superior to them at sea, but on shore, hand to hand, they fancy themselves far superior. "Let the barbarians," remarked General Loo, in a memorial to the emperor, "but meet the imperial troops on shore, and though there be ten of them against one son of heaven, the celestial forces must conquer—nay, even the very rocks must melt before the terrific splendour of our arms, and at the dreadful thunder of our artillery."

CHAPTER IX.

The day after the battle—Flag of truce and treaty of peace—
Columbine sails for Chusan.

ON the morning after the events detailed in the last chapter, the steamers were again busily employed in taking in troops, and distributing them to the several small ships of war, for the purpose of facilitating their landing; the squadron had all weighed, and were proceeding to take up their several positions opposite the North Wang-Tong and Anunghoi forts, and the steamer, Nemesis, had commenced her work of destruction, by throwing shell and rockets, with beautiful precision, among a large body of the enemy, who were drawn up on the Anunghoi island to oppose our landing.

Suddenly the eyes of all were directed towards the Wellesley, from which ship a gun was fired, and a white flag raised at the main.

The appearance of this flag of truce was very disheartening to all who, flushed with the success of yesterday, and not yet satisfied with the quantity of human blood shed, were eager to dip their hands yet more deeply into it.

How little does a victorious army think, when reckoning on the numbers of the dead and wounded enemy, that these, too, had friends who deplore their loss and weep for their fate. To survey a battle-field after an engagement, and to behold the ground covered with the corpses of those who, but a few hours before, were in the full enjoyment of that health which our Creator has given us, but who now lie dead and cold, their bodies mangled and torn to pieces by shot and by shell, and the green grass dyed with their life's blood, would, it will naturally be supposed, excite feelings of compassion or remorse, more especially to those who have not been hardened and rendered callous by such sights, and have ever been accustomed to regard

the dead body with fear and with awe ; but with few only, I suspect, are such feelings present. At no time does man so nearly resemble the brute animal as in the field of battle, when two parties meet, each striving to obtain the mastery at the expense of life ; then do all the finer feelings vanish, and the conqueror surveys his victim with a proud satisfaction, and he points to him afterwards as a fine specimen of one of God's created beings. Such are the effects of war, and such were the callous feelings of the majority who proceeded to survey the battle-field of Cheumpee, when disappointed in prosecuting the work of destruction.

The true cause of the sudden appearance of the white flag was soon known. The commandant of the fort had sent to request of Captain Elliot a truce for three days, to enable him to communicate with Keshen, who, he stated, was at Canton. The truce was readily granted. Working parties were, therefore, in the meantime busily employed in destroying the forts and batteries which yesterday fell into our hands ; in rendering the guns unserviceable, and in burying

the dead ; while the more compassionate among the surgeons were attending the wounded, and alleviating their sufferings. *See*

The slaughter on the Cheumpee side was dreadful ; independent of those bodies on shore, the sea was quite blackened with floating corpses, and the beach for miles around was strewed with them. On shore, the dead, in many places, lay heaped one upon another ; at one place, where resistance had been greatest, the dead lay piled several feet high. It was here that the *heètac*, or brigadier was found ; he was a tall and powerful man, and was killed by a musket bullet through his chest. *29* His son, who was observed to fight most manfully by his side, on finding that his father was dead, leaped into the water, and there perished. Many bodies were dreadfully scorched and disfigured, from the burning of their garments padded with cotton, which were set on fire by their lighted matches as they fell, wounded, upon them. Some, indeed, had been literally blown up from the explosion of their cartridge boxes, which are always worn around their waists. The appearance inside the fort was horrifying in

the extreme. There the round shot and shell had done fearful execution. The walls, in many places, were bespattered with brains ; and it was difficult to discover whether the mangled remains before you ever possessed the human shape. Close to the site of the explosion of the mine, many of the enemy must have secreted themselves ; but now a blent, blackened, smouldering, stinking mass was all that remained to point out their mortal remains. About 200 bodies were thrown into a deep pit immediately under the hill fort, and about half that number in an adjoining one. Some careless, thoughtless Jacks employed in this operation, raised a board over the former, with the inscription—"This is the road to *glory*," printed upon it.

The poorer Chinese shewed no appearance of fear at our having taken Cheumpee. Many of them, a few days after the engagement, came to recover the dead bodies of the slain, which they exhumed ; and, although in a state of decomposition, they carried them away in coffins, hundreds of which had been brought from Canton for the purpose. One old small-foot woman,

who made herself conspicuous on the 7th, running about wildly, crying aloud, " You have killed my two sons ; you have burned my house, and stolen my property—kill me too !"—appeared now to have domesticated herself with our men, and assisted in cooking their food. Poor wretch, she, like many others, lost that day all she held dear ! Alas ! what a cruel monster is man, thus to destroy the only bonds which, even in the most savage country, bind us to each other, and make life a comfort and a pleasure. 21 2 2 2 2

The forts, on both sides the channel, were in a few days dismantled ; the guns spiked, their trunnions knocked off, and cold shot rammed home into them ; and the rough gun-carriages burned or otherwise destroyed, so that they could not possibly again be rendered efficient. The bum-boats, compradors, and fishermen, gaining confidence by our boldness, continued to frequent the fleet in great numbers ; they expressed great dread of falling into the hands of the mandarins. There are hundreds who would be glad to join us if they had encouragement. Never was there so despotic a government as the

Chinese; yet there is no struggle for freedom, for power appals them. 27 Aug 1850

The third day had passed, and the period of truce was at an end, yet there were no signs of a renewal of hostilities; and Captain Elliot, by public proclamation, on the fourth day, announced a cessation of hostilities, and a conclusion of preliminary arrangements between the imperial high commissioner and himself, involving certain conditions,—of which the chief were—1st, The cession of the island of Hong-Kong to the British Crown; 2nd, An indemnity of six million of dollars to the British government; 3rd, Direct official intercourse between the two countries, upon equal footing; and, 4th, The re-opening of the trade at Canton. On its being intimated to the Chinese, that we laid claim to the island of Cheumpee by right of conquest, Keshen replied, “How can you ask to have a place where you have killed so many men? their spirits would haunt you for ever.” The intention of retaining this position was afterwards abandoned. On the part of Great Britain, it was agreed that her troops were to

evacuate Chusan without further delay ; and although the Chinese government gave no security for the due performance of the treaty, the fast-sailing corvette, Columbine, was despatched to the north with the announcement to the authorities there, and to order the immediate evacuation by H. M. forces of that island.

On the 21st February, the fleet sailed from the Bocca Tigris, under a salute from the Chinese forts, the garrison of which were, no doubt, laughing in their sleeves at having again so effectually gulled the bristle-headed barbarians. 4500000000

CHAPTER X.

A description of the harbour and island of Hong-Kong—
Interview between Captain Elliot and Keshen—Perfidy,
and interruption of negotiations.

ON the morning of the 26th February, we anchored in the magnificent bay of Hong-Kong, and on the evening of that day the island was taken possession of in Her Majesty's name, under a royal salute from all the ships of the squadron.

Hong-Kong forms the most northerly of the group of islands at the mouth of the estuary that leads to Canton. It is in lat. $22^{\circ} 17' N.$, and long. $114^{\circ} 12' E.$ It is distant from Macao forty miles, and from Canton about a hundred.

The island is about eight miles in length, and

two and a half in its greatest breadth. The strait which separates it from the main land is, in some places, barely a mile in breadth, while at others it is five and six miles broad. The bay of Hong-Kong cannot probably be surpassed by any in the world, not only by reason of the infinite number of ships which it can accommodate, but also of its safe anchorage from typhoons, compared with any other harbour in China, and the depth of water close to the land, which along the greater part of the bay is sufficient for a seventy-four to float at a distance of a cable's length from shore. From this circumstance alone, the island must prove a possession of enormous value as a commercial acquisition. Magnificent granite quarries are found all over the island, so that warehouses on any scale can be built close to the water's edge, and wharfs with ease thrown out, which will enable ships to approach for the purpose of loading and unloading. There is at all seasons an abundant supply of fresh water procurable on the island.

In other respects this new colony possesses but few advantages. Its northern side is formed

by a connected ridge of mountains, the highest of which is about 2000 feet above the level of the sea. Except in a few spots, these mountains are barren and uncultivated ; formed by black projecting masses of granite, the intervals giving shelter to herbage and brush-wood. There are no trees of any size ; and unlike the generality of mountainous districts, it possesses but a few valleys, and these not of any extent. The mountains, for the most part, fall perpendicularly into the sea, thus leaving but little space for building at their base. The interior and south side is chiefly formed by level and undulating land, and appears to be far better adapted for private residences than on the north side. Here, too, there are some very fine bays, the chief of which are Ty-tan and Chuck-pie-wan. At the former place a military post has been established. The latter place, which is removed about five miles from Ty-tan, forms a very convenient and well-sheltered site for building dock-yards, &c. Partridge, quail, and snipe, have been found on the island ; and in the jungle, pheasants and deer have been seen. The population, on our first



taking possession, was barely 1000, but it is now daily increasing, and already numbers upwards of 10,000. } Opposite to the north-eastern extremity of Hong-Kong, and across the bay, is the town of Cowloon, a small fortified Chinese position, from which the fleet derive supplies in abundance. A peninsula of considerable size, with only a few Chinese hamlets upon it, extends from the town of Cowloon in a south-easterly direction. This mostly consists of rich level ground, and would prove of inestimable value to us, were it to become an appendage to our present possessions. The appearance of Hong-Kong is anything but prepossessing ; and to those who have hitherto resided upon it, the climate has proved far from salubrious. There is a good deal of rank vegetation on the face of the hill, the ground on which, after a heavy fall of rain, becomes elastic and boggy. } On the Cowloon side of the bay the atmosphere is at all times more pure, and the changes of temperature less sudden ; indeed, altogether it appears a far more likely and preferable spot to form a settlement than on the Hong-Kong side. At present

it has been decided that this peninsula is to be considered as neutral ground. /h⁺

In order to facilitate the permanent adjustment of affairs, it was agreed, on the part of our Plenipotentiary and the Imperial Commissioner, that a meeting should be held, at which both parties should come attended by their respective guards of honour. The 27th of January was the day fixed for the interview, on which day Captain Elliot proceeded in the Nemesis steamer, attended by sixty picked men of the Royal Marines, and a number of officers of the Army and navy. On the bank of the river, near the second bar, Keshen received and regaled our Plenipotentiary and suite at a splendid banquet prepared for the occasion, at which, in addition to the usual luxuries of the Chinese on such occasions, the tables groaned with a profusion of Highland mutton, venison, grouse, and other European delicacies, among which hock, champagne, and cherry brandy formed no small part. This cunning statesman appears to have discovered the right road to an Englishman's heart; and as will be supposed, after a feast of this de-

scription, little business was transacted. Keshen requested of Captain Elliot to put his party through some of their movements, which the latter performed with such dexterity and execution as to surprise every mandarin present, and to call from them loud expressions of wonder and astonishment. From the portly make of some of the men, he suspected they were padded, nor would he be convinced to the contrary, until he had stripped and examined them. Captain Elliot, in his turn, examined the celestial body-guard. They were all dressed alike—viz., large loose white pantaloons and a crimson jacket, having a white star over the chest, and a corresponding one on the back. On the former, the words “Indomitable Courage” was marked, and on the latter, the name, battalion, and general number of the owner. Many mutual compliments passed, until the day being so far spent, it was agreed, that Keshen should have ten days more to consider matters, before placing the final seal upon the treaty. At the appointed time H. M. Plenipotentiary held another interview with Keshen, after which an official circular

was issued, informing the British subjects that negotiations were proceeding satisfactorily. Trade, however, was not yet opened, although the day agreed on in the treaty had gone by. It was well known, too, that soldiers were collecting at Canton and at the Bocca Tigris in great numbers, and that the latter place was daily becoming stronger and more formidable.

About this time an edict was published, and widely circulated in Canton and elsewhere, offering large rewards for British ships and subjects. This document at once exhibits the characteristic duplicity of the Chinese government, and, if possible, indelibly fixes a more foul stain upon their character. Resolved upon and made known, whilst ostensibly amicable negotiations were going on with those who were to be its victims, the document set forth by pardoning all native traitors who repent of their crimes and quit the service of the English. Rewards were then offered for ships according to their size ; 100,000 dollars for a 74 ; 50,000 dollars for a steamer ; and 30,000 for smaller ships ;—50,000 dollars were offered for the Commodore, Captain

Elliot, or the interpreter, Mr. Morrison, dead or alive, and smaller rewards for all other officers according to their rank : a Sepoy, or Lascar, was valued at fifty dollars. Pensions were awarded to the families of those Chinese who lost their lives in the execution of this duty. So much “for the scrupulous good faith of the very eminent person with whom negotiations are still pending.”

Keshen was of opinion that foreigners are altogether in the power of the Chinese, and that after they shall have been excluded for some time, and after their stocks of rhubarb and of tea, of which he supposes them to keep stores sufficient for ten or twenty years’ consumption, shall have been exhausted, they will beg for permission to trade again, in the most abject language, and then they will have to pay gold and silver in exchange for tea and rhubarb, instead of, as now, deluging the land with opium, and taking away in return Sycee silver.

“The foreigners,” says Keshen, “subsist day by day upon beef and mutton, and every day, after meals, they take this divine medicine (i.e., tea and rhubarb) in order to ensure the proper action of their bowels.” It seems,

in fact, to have been Keshen's opinion, that without those two articles, foreigners must die of constipation, and his plan is humanely to extirpate them by denying them this medicine. The Viceroy of Pechelee, therefore, recommended that an imperial proclamation be published, prohibiting all intercourse with foreigners, thus "defeating their schemes, and, having done this, you (the Emperor) have merely to bend down their back, and pin them by the collar."

CHAPTER XI.

Recommencement of hostilities, and bombardment of forts
at the Bocca Tigris.

It will at once become evident to all those who have perused the preceding document, that matters could not long remain in their present state. Henceforth, no one can say that pacific measures have not been sufficiently tried. Even the sanguine Elliot appeared now convinced that the Chinese entered into the above treaty merely to gain time. As a final measure, however, he despatched the Nemesis steamer to the Bocca Tigris, and had yet some hopes that she would bring back the treaty, ratified. The steamer returned to Macao on the 19th February, and it soon became known that every effort on her

part to communicate with the Bogue forts proved abortive, and that a boat, which was being sent on shore for that purpose, had been fired at, and nearly sunk by the guns from North Wang-Tong. The following proclamation was, soon after the return of the steamer, issued to the British community at Macao :—“ Circumstances have induced the Commander-in-chief to announce to H. M.’s Plenipotentiary his intention to move the forces towards the Bocca Tigris.” All naval and military officers on leave were also directed to join their respective ships without delay. When this intelligence was brought to me, Cumchung, a wealthy and respectable Chinese merchant, happened to be present. I remarked to him, that we were about to proceed to the Bocca Tigris immediately, to knock down the forts there. With a smile of scorn and derision, and pointing upwards towards the heavens, the old man replied, “ Same time you Englēsmen take that fort, same time that sky make fall down.” Such was his opinion, and such was the general opinion of his countrymen, with regard to the impregnable nature of the forts in

this position ; and, indeed, on our arrival there a few days afterwards, the batteries presented a most formidable appearance, and if held by an European power, would have cost a severe struggle and great loss of life to take them.

During the brief period that had elapsed since our departure from Cheumpee, the forts and batteries we were now about to attack had spread rapidly ; so thick was the island studded with workmen and soldiers, that at a distance it resembled an ant-hill. The utmost breadth of the river at this point is two miles ; the island of North Wang-Tong being situated nearly in the centre of the channel. The island is about a mile in circumference ; on its eastern side was a double fortification, the lower of which was an enormous, strong battery, built of solid granite, and mounting 42 guns, some of very large calibre. On the western side was an exactly similar battery, with the same number of guns. To the inside of those were barracks for the troops, and along the shore, a strong breast-work, communicating with these batteries, had been lately thrown up, mounting an innumerable

number of small guns, wall pieces, ginjalls, &c. On a rising ground is the hill fort, or citadel, the guns from which have a commanding range on every side; and in the centre of the island was an extensive encampment.

On the eastern side of the river, and opposite the islands of North and South Wang-Tong, are the great and little forts of Anunghoi. They are of enormous strength, constructed solely of large blocks of granite. On the summit of these, a peculiarly firm cement, made from chunam and gravel, was placed several feet thick, so as to prevent the stone from splintering. On this side of the river the same activity prevailed as on the island in the centre; sand-bag batteries, bristling with guns, stretched along the shore on all sides. Every commanding spot was fortified, and the garrison all appeared on the alert. From the south Anunghoi fort, a chain, several inches in thickness, ran across the river to South Wang-Tong island, on the surface of which, at short intervals, rafts were attached; a second chain was also run across from the island of North Wang-Tong to the corresponding forts on the

Anunghoi side, but the tides had been so strong at our present visit, that it had been carried away. This was the only channel through which ships passed up to Canton, which was at once effected by slackening the chain, and permitting it to sink to a certain extent. 315

On the western side of the river was also a fort, and, as on the Anunghoi side, the commanding positions on the heights had also been fortified, the brow of the hill being one continued line of encampment. Through this channel no ships were permitted to pass. In fact, it was never supposed that there was water sufficient for the purpose. Nor was it until after repeated surveys, untiring exertions, and great risks, on the part of Captain Kellett, R.N., that it was discovered that in this passage alone a two-decker could pass up. It is singular, that with all the care the Chinese seem to have bestowed in protecting and fortifying the several positions in this narrow channel, they should have neglected every means of defence on the island of South Wang-Tong, removed from the other island of the same name a few yards. On this

On the evening of the 25th, three howitzers were landed on the island of South Wang-Tong, by the *Nemesis*, under the superintendence of Sir Le Fleming Senhouse ; a party of Royal and Madras Artillery, commanded by Major Knowles, and Lieutenant Cadell, and 150 men of the 37th regiment, M. N. I., under Captain Wardroper, were also landed on the same occasion. A fire was opened by the enemy upon this party during the landing, which was kept up at intervals the whole night, without, however, doing any injury.

By daylight on the following morning, the 26th, a battery, sufficient to protect the artillerymen while working their guns, having been raised, operations commenced, by throwing a few rockets into a large pile of building, the *hoppoés*, or custom-house, situated at the entrance of the North Wang-Tong fort ; and such was the precision with which these were directed, that the place was soon in a blaze of fire, which rapidly communicated with the encampment, and presented an animating and inciting appearance. From this battery, shells and shot were also

fired with splendid effect ; and although the concentrated fire of the whole of the Chinese forts was directed against it, not one accident happened.

It was originally intended that a combined and simultaneous attack should be made on all the Bogue forts ; but owing to the calmness of the weather, and a strong ebb tide, this was found impracticable. It was, therefore, necessary to postpone operations, and wait for the flood-tide to serve. About 11 o'clock, A.M., the Blenheim, 74 guns, was under weigh. Her intrepid commander, ever foremost in difficulties and dangers, having command of the wing of the squadron appointed to bombard the great and formidable Anunghoi forts, becoming impatient, could not wait for the change of tide. She was accompanied by three rocket boats, and the Queen steamer. The Melville, 74 guns, soon afterwards got under weigh, and followed her. The flagship, Wellesley, and other ships about to attack Wang-Tong, were also on the move. They had been at anchor about a mile and a half from the forts, and in consequence of the slack tide and

dead calm, the ships dropped down very slowly. An occasional shot was still fired from the forts, and from our battery on South Wang-Tong ; beyond this, not a sound broke the ominous stillness that reigned around. The troops had embarked in the steamers, and were following in the wake of the shipping towards Wang-Tong. |

The Blenheim was hardly yet within range when the forts of Anunghoi opened their fire upon her. With breathless interest all watched her coolly gliding to her work of destruction without returning a shot to the brisk fire that was now directed against her. The Queen and the rocket-boats had already commenced the action, and the Blenheim, when about 500 yards from the fort, brought to, clewed all up, and then opened her broadside. The Melville, Captain the Hon. — Dundas, followed about ten minutes later, and took up an admirable position, in the same cool, gallant style, about 400 yards from the fort, a little way a-head of the Blenheim, and close to the chain-raft. | Like the latter ship, she did not fire a shot till she had

brought to, when she gave her starboard broadsides in quick succession. Operations had hardly yet begun on the opposite side of the channel, consequently the interest excited by the opposing parties at Anunghoi was intense beyond expression. The Queen steamer, though at good shell distance from shore, was too far removed to suffer much injury from the Chinese guns. The entire force of these enormous batteries, mounting upwards of 200 guns, was, therefore, concentrated against the two line-of-battle ships. At times, columns of smoke and dust concealed everything from our view; and now that the action was fairly begun at Wang-Tong, the continual roar was terrific, and was echoed back from the surrounding hills. The blaze of fire through the smoke resembled bright flashes of sheet lightning, obscured by dark clouds. 142

From the Anunghoi forts, where the contest had now lasted nearly two hours, the fire began to flag—the repeated broadsides having evidently taken effect. On the smoke clearing away, the enemy were seen leaving the forts in hundreds, and running off in every direction; an occasional

shell from the Queen would burst over their heads, and the canister and grape now fired from the seventy-fours mowed them down by scores. The villages and encampments around had long since been set fire to by the rockets. During the heat of the engagement, a boat drifted from the Melville, close under the guns of the fort. It was recovered in fearless style, and without loss. 15

Against the batteries of North Wang-Tong, the Wellesley, Druid, and Modeste, Calliope, Samarang, Herald, and Alligator, had long since opened their fire. The starboard guns from the three former were chiefly directed against the western defences, while the larboard ones kept up a perpetual fire upon the forts and batteries on the opposite side of the channel. The fire from the other four ships was brought to bear upon the northern and eastern portions of the island. Thus an enfilading fire, most harassing to the garrison, was kept up, and continued without a moment's intermission, for upwards of an hour. Shortly after the engagement had begun on this side, four boats filled with men were

observed to leave the island, and to the surprise of all, the Chinese opened a fire upon them. It was afterwards ascertained that these boats contained the general commanding, and all the chief mandarins, who fled panic-struck, taking with them the only boats on the island, having previously taken the base and cowardly precaution of barring the gates to prevent the garrison from molesting them in their flight. Thus deprived of their leaders, the fire soon slackened; and on the troops landing, the little opposition offered was chiefly of a passive nature. Here and there, however, a body of determined fellows driven at bay, resisted to the last, preferring to be shot down or bayoneted to yielding themselves prisoners. The loss on this island, on the part of the Chinese, was 250 killed and 150 wounded. Here also many were drowned in attempting to escape. About 1400 prisoners were taken, all of whom, with the exception of a working party to clear the fort and bury the dead, were landed on the western side of the river, and set at liberty. Over the Anunghoi forts the union-jack was proudly waving. The veteran, Sir Fleming, at

the head of his blue jackets and marines, 300 in number, had landed; a chance shot had torn the door of the fort off its hinges—the party, therefore, at once entered. The ramparts were all deserted, but in the centre of the fort an armed party, in strength equal to their own, were drawn up in good order. At the head of this party was a venerable-looking old man, with a blue button and peacock's feather in his cap, evidently a mandarin of distinction. At first, it was expected they were going to surrender. A shower of arrows and some matchlock bullets soon convinced our men to the contrary. The old chief himself, advancing and brandishing his double-handed sword, seemed to court death. A musket bullet through the chest closed his career, immediately on which the party surrendered. It was now discovered that the chief above alluded to was Admiral Kwan, he who had two years before engaged H.M. ship *Volage*, at Cowloon Bay, and on a later occasion, with his fleet, attacked the *Volage*, *Hyacinth*, and *Larne*, off Lantao. He was buried with military honours, Sir Fleming firing from the *Blenheim* minute

guns, corresponding in number to the old man's probable age. Another mandarin of high rank was also killed in this fort. .

About four P.M., the Nemesis steamer, with a party of marines, proceeded to occupy the fort on the western shore under the Tanan Hills. This fort had been previously silenced by the admirable firing of the Wellesley and Druid, but the enemy still retained a position in an entrenched camp on the face of the hill, from which they occasionally fired upon the shipping. The force landed, and soon dispersed the Chinese, and set fire to their encampment. It burned in a circle of nearly two miles ; the fire continued long after dark, casting a bright light over the waters of the Bogue, forming, as it were, a vast illumination in commemoration of our triumph, and a grand closing spectacle to this eventful day's work. The blaze must have been seen for miles around, and told the sad tale to the Chinese of the fall of the Bocca Tigris, the Gibraltar of the East.

CHAPTER XII.

Advance upon Canton—Arrival of Sir Hugh Gough, and the Chusan force—Release of the Ningpo prisoners—Armistice and arrangements for trade agreed on.

NOTWITHSTANDING the enormous expenditure of powder and shot by the two contending parties during the engagement just detailed, still, surprising to say, on the side of the British, not one man was killed, and a few only were slightly wounded. The casualties on the part of the enemy must have exceeded 600. About 500 pieces of cannon were taken. Among these were four large brass 72 pounders, of Spanish manufacture, which were put on board the *Blenheim*. There were also several English and Portuguese guns, all of which were spiked, and rendered un-

serviceable. As a proof of the ingenuity of the Chinese, it may here be mentioned, that some guns which had been spiked and deprived of their trunnions at Cheumpee, were here recognised, mounted on carriages, having had a vent-hole bored on the opposite side, and a strong iron hoop, with trunnions attached, placed on the centre of the piece. The spars, rigging, and hulls of our shipping had been considerably cut up, more especially that of the two line-of-battle ships engaged at Anunghoi.

The day after the destruction of the Bogue forts, a garrison of 200 men of the 37th regiment having been left on North Wang-Tong, the plenipotentiary and commodore proceeded towards Canton, with the steamers and ships of light draught. The fort on Tiger Island, about two miles above the Bogue, was found deserted. At the first bar, however, which is situated about half way between Whampoo and the Bocca Tigris, was a Chinese force of upwards of 2,000 élite, strongly entrenched on the left bank of the river, and defended by upwards of 100 pieces of artillery ; and the late British ship Cambridge, of

1400 tons burden, recently purchased by the Chinese, was moored close to a raft which stretched across the river to the west of the encampment. The advance squadron, consisting of the Calliope, Herald, Alligator, Sulphur, Modeste, and steamers Nemesis and Madagascar, opened their fire upon the enemy at this position on the afternoon of the 27th. Here the Chinese fought manfully; nor was it until after a hard struggle of a couple of hours' duration that they yielded. This force had but recently arrived from the district of Hoonan, and consisted of tried old soldiers and “water braves,” (marines,) who had been specially selected for the purpose of expelling the English, having repeatedly, on former occasions, signalized themselves by acts of bravery. Upwards of 200 dead bodies were here found, among whom was the chief officer in command, and several others of inferior ranks. The wounded had been carried away by their comrades. On our side, there was one man killed, and several severely wounded. The shipping, also, sustained considerable damage, and the Nemesis received a shot in her steam condenser.

The ship Cambridge was blown up, the encampment and ammunition destroyed, and the guns rendered unserviceable.

On the 2nd of March, Sir Hugh Gough arrived in H. M. brig Cruiser, and assumed the command of the land forces.

A masked battery on the island of Whampoo had, on the morning of this day, fired upon a division of boats engaged in towing the Sulphur, surveying ship. The tow-line was immediately cut, the boats proceeded on shore, their crews advanced, and gallantly carried the position, killing twenty men, and destroying twenty-three guns. On the following day the kwan-chowfoo, or lord mayor of Canton, had an interview with Captain Elliot, the result of which was a truce.

During this week the Chusan portion of the force arrived, and the island which had become the grave of so many British troops was again in undisputed possession of the Chinese. The Columbine had gone up in fourteen days, arriving a few hours after the overland despatch. Such was the belief of Captain Elliot in the good faith

of the Chinese respecting the treaty of Cheumpee, that the regiment of Bengal Volunteers had been ordered to proceed direct to Calcutta, thus depriving the force of the services of upwards of 500 effective soldiers. One of the articles stipulated in the treaty was the return of prisoners ; and, much to the gratification of all, they had been released, and had come down with the fleet. The suspicious Chinese would not, however, give them up until the whole force had left Chusan, and were under weigh.

On the 6th of March, the truce expired, and from this date Captain Elliot's acts became daily more clouded and veiled in obscurity. In private conversation he changed his opinion every few minutes, and as for his public acts, his proclamations will at once shew the vacillating nature of his temperament. His sole object seems to have been to re-establish trade ; whether on terms honourable or otherwise to Great Britain, it did not appear to matter much to him. On the same day that the truce expired, he intimated to H. M.'s subjects that the works in immediate advance of Howqua's Fort were occupied, and

he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Canton, stating, to allay their fears, that "their city was spared because the gracious Sovereign of Great Britain had commanded the high English officers to remember, that the good and peaceable people must be tenderly considered." What was the inference drawn by the Chinese on perusing this document? Simply, that we were afraid to take possession of the city; and what certainly gave this construction of our acts some appearance of truth, was the arrival of Aug-fang, a generalissimo, in the neighbourhood of Canton, with 30,000 men.

Subsequent to the above proclamation, Captain Elliot issued several circulars, in one of which he states that the forts in the Macao passage, near Canton, which are strengthened by flanking field-works, were carried on the 13th. On the same day the *Nemesis*, with a division of boats, proceeded from Macao towards Canton by the inner passage. In her progress she destroyed seven small works or batteries, nine sail of men-of-war junks, and 105 pieces of cannon. This extraordinary little vessel, through the coolness

of her intrepid commander, “ was moved onwards for some succeeding miles in her own depth of water, and with the breadth of the river so near her own length, that it became necessary, on several occasions, to force her bow into the bank and bushes on one side to clear the heel of the dry ground on the opposite.” The whole of the river, and its branches, as high up as Howqua’s Fort, was now in our possession. A flag of truce proceeding to Canton on the 16th, with a chop for the authorities there, was fired at. H. M.’s forces, therefore, moved up, and on the 18th all the works in immediate advance and before the city, including the Dutch folly, were taken, and the whole of the enemy’s flotilla sunk or destroyed. Canton was now under the guns of the squadron ; all approaches to the city were completely commanded, and Captain Elliot held possession of the British factory. Here he was soon waited upon by a deputation of the Hong merchants, who besought him to suspend hostilities for the present ; they guaranteed that trade should be immediately opened, and benefits in-

numerable be showered down upon the English. The plenipotentiary's compassion was moved, and hostilities ceased. A few days hereafter, he issued a circular, intimating that "a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon between the imperial commissioner Yang and himself, and that the trade of the port of Canton was opened to British and other foreign merchants who may see fit to proceed thither for the purpose of lawful commerce."

It is worthy of remark that, during the successive engagements above enumerated, in which the Chinese lost about 2000 men, reckoning from the 7th of January, there was killed on the side of the English, by the Chinese shot, only one man.

With the exception of a few of the smaller ships of war, and a party of marines left to protect the factory, and a wing of the 37th regiment to garrison the island of North Wang-Tong, (the other forts in this position having been destroyed,) the remainder of the force returned to Hong-Kong.

In Wang-Tong an hospital for the wounded Chinese had been established; here military surgery, in all its varieties, was to be seen, and capital operations were of daily occurrence. These the Chinese at all times submitted to with stoical indifference. At first they supposed the operations were performed for the purpose of torture, and on the wounded limb being removed, the sound one was held forth to be operated on also; nor could they, to the last, understand or appreciate the purpose of our daily visits to dress the wounds. On one occasion, after removing an arm, several of the instruments used during the operation were missed; these, after minute search, and some trouble, were found, some in the possession of the man operated on, and others on a prisoner attending upon the sick.

The force now present consisted of the skeletons of three Queen's corps, and the 37th regiment, M. N. I.; detachment of Madras Artillery; and Sappers and Miners, and Bengal Volunteers—amounting, in all, to about 2300 men;—a body

of marines, also about 500 strong. The naval force consisted of three line-of-battle ships ; five ships carrying 28 guns ; and ten, 18 guns, and downwards ; one bomb-ship, and five armed steamers.

CHAPTER XIII.

Commodore proceeds to Calcutta—Keshen recalled—Three new commissioners arrive at Canton—They act with duplicity.

THE movements of the naval and military commanders had been hitherto so curtailed and thwarted by Captain Elliot, the British flag so repeatedly slighted and insulted, and operations checked just at the time when they were about to become creditable to Great Britain, and to produce a permanent and salutary effect on the Chinese government, that the commodore resolved at once to proceed to Calcutta for the purpose of representing to the governor-general the peculiar position in which affairs were placed, and at the same time to solicit reinforcements previous to a renewal of hostilities. For this purpose he de-

parted in the Queen steamer on the 31st of March. The steamers Enterprise and Madagascar, standing in need of repair, returned also to Calcutta about this time. On the departure of the commodore, the direction of the naval portion of the expedition devolved on Sir H. Le Fleming Senhouse.

The Emperor's entire disapproval of the treaty entered into by Keshen at Cheumpee had been for some time known, and that officer was threatened with disgrace. As a proof that this treaty never was granted with sincerity, the imperial commissioner, in his report to the Emperor on the subject, makes use of the following words:—"As a temporary expediency, I pretended to grant what was requested."

On the 3rd of April, the reply to Keshen's report concerning the loss of the Bogue forts was received. That minister was now ordered to be degraded, to be deprived of rank and command, and directed to be sent in chains to the capital, there to be delivered over to the board of punishment. Among the several articles of accusation against him, the most important are—his having

held interviews and exchanged documents with Captain Elliot on equal terms—his having entertained Captain Elliot at the second bar—and his having fixed his seal to a document ceding the island of Hong-Kong. The emperor evinced the greatest indignation at the rebellious conduct of the barbarians, and swore “that both powers shall not stand—that one or other must perish.” Yih-shan, the emperor’s nephew, was invested with the office of “general pacificator of the rebellious,” and Lungween and Yangfang with that of assistant ministers. Extensive levies of troops were made from all the surrounding districts, and directed to proceed to Canton, “so that, with great celerity, the work of attack and extermination may be carried out.” Yangfang reached Canton on the same day the British troops took possession of the factories there. He had left his army encamped some miles from the city, but instead of proceeding at once to the work of extermination, he proclaimed, on the walls of the city, the re-opening of trade, with protection for the lives and property of all foreigners, as has already been shewn in the extract of Captain

Elliot's circular, at the conclusion of the last chapter.

How surprising it is that H. M. Plenipotentiary, who has, during a residence of six years, been brought so repeatedly into communication with the Chinese, both officially and otherwise, should yet remain in ignorance of their true character, and continue to place confidence in their faithless promises. True, in this instance, Yihshan, on his arrival at Canton, appeared to give a tacit consent to his joint-minister's terms of truce—and why? Because the Canton treasury had been emptied in preparing and perfecting the defences on the course of the river, and paying the workmen and garrison. Moreover, the large army assembling in the neighbourhood of the city required that no time should be lost in replenishing it. They naturally concluded that the foreign merchants, so long shut out from trade, would avail themselves of the first opportunity of its being opened, and eagerly come forward. Nor were they disappointed in their expectations. Trade was resumed, and continued to be actively carried on, although prices

had been considerably raised, and in very few instances did the Chinese dealers receive manufactures or other imports in barter for teas, &c., insisting, for the most part, in being paid in hard cash. Thus their sanguine hopes were being realized, and their treasury being filled.

The courtesy and attention of the newly-arrived ministers to our plenipotentiary became quite marked ; messages daily passed between them ; and from time to time Captain Elliot issued circulars, stating that satisfactory declarations continued to be received from the commissioners " declaratory of their good and faithful intentions." A proclamation was also issued by him " to the quiet and industrious people of Canton," directing them not to be alarmed at the constant rumours of warlike preparations against their town and province upon the side of the British forces ; and he clearly declares to all the people that these reports are " false and mischievous ;" then follows a long eulogium on Yang and the other high functionaries of the province. How little did he suspect that, during the time professions of friendship were thus lavishly ex-

pended, they were all false and treacherous, and that preparations on an extensive scale were concerting at once to attack the British forces at all points, and murder or make prisoners the foreign merchants in Canton. To prove to the Chinese the confidence H. M. Plenipotentiary felt in their pacific intentions, the guard of marines, hitherto stationed at the British Hong, had been withdrawn, and the ships of war removed from opposite the city.

About this time two officers of the Blenheim, in company with another Englishman, were proceeding from Macao to their ships, anchored in these roads. They never reached the vessel; and the body of one of them, washed up on shore some days afterwards, bore marks of violence, which tells but too truly the fate of his companions. Captain Stead, the master of a transport ship, which had arrived at Chusan a few days after the island was evacuated by our troops, and who had gone on shore to make some inquiry on the subject, was immediately attacked, and carried off wounded to Chinhae, where, it was afterwards discovered, he was tortured to death.

These and many other like incidents, will at once point out to the reader the feeling the Chinese entertain against the English.

Meantime trade continued, or rather was tolerated, at Canton. The dealers, becoming distrustful in consequence of the large bodies of troops daily pouring into the city, and other hostile preparations in progress, became more chary, and dreaded introducing goods to any amount ; moreover, the system of *squeezing* was at this time carried on to such an extent, that the merchant derived little or no profit upon his property ; he had not, therefore, much encouragement in disposing of it.

Edicts against the English continued to arrive from Peking : “ Exterminate the rebels at all points,” was the emperor’s reiterated orders. At this period it was said that he would listen to no proposals for an amicable arrangement, and he threatened with death those who talked of making peace with the English. Other documents, purporting also to be imperial edicts, were about this time freely circulated at Canton and Macao, recommending peace and quietness, &c.

These were afterwards discovered to be pseudo documents, apparently got up by the Canton authorities, in order to blind the plenipotentiary and put him off his guard. The continued warlike preparations of the Chinese, the enormous number of soldiers collected in and about the city, calculated at upwards of 50,000 men, and the departure of the Hong and other wealthy merchants, with their families and valuables, induced Captain Elliot, as a measure of precaution, to move the ships of war nearer to Canton, and in front of the factories.

On the 20th of May, Yihshan and his colleagues issued a proclamation, which was carefully put into the hands of the foreign merchants, and pasted upon the factories and in the streets, telling the "people of Canton, and all foreign merchants who are respectfully obedient, not to tremble with alarm and be frightened out of their wits at the military hosts that are gathering around, there being no probability of hostilities." On the succeeding day, Captain Elliot issued, at Canton, the following circular :—

"In the present situation of circumstances

her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary feels it his duty to recommend that the British, and other foreigners now remaining in the factories, should retire from Canton before sunset."

Such was the critical appearance affairs at Canton now suddenly presented.

CHAPTER XIV.

Hostilities are resumed—Third advance up the river—Battle of the heights above Canton.

WHEN, on the 18th of March, it was stipulated that Canton should be spared without ransom on condition that no military preparations were to be made by the Chinese, and that the trade of the port was to continue as usual, it was well known that the objects of the expedition would now be directed northward. The Chinese flattered themselves that, on the departure of the main body of the British force, there would then be little difficulty in seizing and destroying that portion which still remained in these waters. While promising faithfully to abstain from hostilities, the authorities were employed in erecting

new batteries, and re-arming old ones ; in assembling a large army, and in collecting immense flotillas of war-junks and fire-rafts. As the advantages were to be great, no expense was spared; complete success in their deceitful purposes was to be the sure and triumphant result. The better to carry out their plans, as the reader has already seen, both the foreign community at Canton, and the native inhabitants, were assured, by repeated proclamations from the imperial commissioner, that their property and persons were in perfect safety, while at the very time these proclamations were published, soldiers and arms were being privately brought into the warehouses of the Hong merchants, not far from the factories where foreigners were weighing teas. These solemn assurances were repeated until the very day on which their combined attacks were to be made. These, however, appeared to have been accelerated by the discovery that their base designs had been detected.

By sunset on the day on which Captain Elliot issued his last circular, no British merchants remained in the factories. The bustle of the day

closing as evening approached, no signs of immediate hostilities were visible. The second watch of the night had not, however, passed, ere Yihshan's operations commenced. With the ebb-tide, boats filled with combustibles of every description, chained together, two and two, and well manned with "water braves," bore down in disguise upon the English shipping. When within a few yards of the advanced ship, the *Modeste*, from the forecastle of which the sentry hailed, these boats were simultaneously set on fire, and became almost instantly wrapped in flames; their crews were so near the shipping when they took to their small boats, that they were shot down in numbers by our musketry. The fire-rafts were promptly, but with considerable risk, warded off, and the ships sustained no material damage thereby.

In concert with the movements of the fire-vessels, guns from masked batteries, which were till now never known to exist, opened their fire upon the shipping; gun-boats, or floating batteries, approaching close to the ships, kept up a perpetual fire during the whole of the night. At

Howqua's fort (three miles), at Whampoa (twelve miles), and at North Wang-Tong, thirty miles below the city, similar efforts were made to destroy the shipping at those stations, but in every instance without effect. At daylight the following morning, the ships moved into positions which commanded the batteries that had proved so troublesome during the night; and the *Nemesis*, hastily getting up her steam, dashed into the midst of the flotilla of boats, numbering more than 200, one-half of which, in the course of three hours, she destroyed, the remainder having been either abandoned, run on shore, or driven into some of the shallow creeks. The Goddess of Revenge, though in the midst of repeated explosions while performing this gallant feat, from being entirely constructed of iron, returned unscathed, decked with Chinese flags and banners, and her crew habited in mandarins' coats and caps. Her rockets and the Chinese fire-rafts (which latter she, with the assistance of her grappling-irons, towed to the mouths of some of the numerous creeks and canals in this direction, from whence

they floated up with the tide) had already set fire to the suburbs in many places.

In the course of the morning, a body of soldiers, joined by the mob, entered the factories, the whole of which were ransacked, and everything in them destroyed or carried away. Some American merchants who still remained in the factory were wounded, and sent into the city in chains, where they were insulted and imprisoned, until it was satisfactorily ascertained that they were not British subjects.

While this part of the scene was being enacted opposite the factories, the British force, which on the 18th of May got under weigh at Hong-Kong, was hourly approaching the city. H.M. Plenipotentiary had intimated to the naval and military commanders, some days previously, that the contemplated expedition to Amoy must of necessity, for the present, be postponed, as he suspected that the local government were meditating evil, and a speedy rupture was to all appearance inevitable. Operations were, therefore, planned accordingly ; and it was decided that an

advance upon Canton should be forthwith made, and that, if possible, this should be effected before the enemy had matured their plans. In this, however, the Chinese had anticipated us; nor was it until the morning of the 24th that our right column, consisting of the 26th Cameronians, and a portion of the Madras Artillery and Sappers, took possession of the factories, for the purpose of drawing the attention of the enemy to that quarter, and at the same time to co-operate with the naval force appointed to attack the river defences. The Chinese, who had kept up a fire upon the ships at intervals since the morning of the 22nd, now again, on the appearance of our troops, recommenced, with greater avidity, to fire from the tops of houses and from numerous new works lately thrown up opposite to the factories and in front of the city. These in the course of the day had been silenced; in one of the batteries, four guns, 10½-inch bore, and weighing about 50 cwt., were taken and destroyed.

Her Majesty's ship *Blenheim* took up her position within six miles of Canton, in the Macao

passage, on the 21st, but in consequence of light and variable winds, the whole of the force was not assembled till the 23rd. Nothing of importance occurred during the passage up the river, save a ship occasionally running over a sunken junk, which, however, caused no further annoyance than the delay until a breach had been formed in the side of the rotten junk, or the flood-tide had floated the ship off.

It was an extraordinary sight to see the Blenheim in tow of a steamer proceeding leisurely up the back channel, a passage through which nothing but Chinese junks were previously known to pass, and which since this period has been denominated Blenheim Channel. In fact, the Chinese never would permit foreign ships to enter this passage, which, indeed, from its being at all times blocked up with fishing-stakes, offered but little temptation to its being preferred to the old and better known one by Whampoa. Through this latter, a line of battle-ship could not approach nearer the city than twelve miles, whereas in the former, Captain Belcher, R.N., (whose zeal and ability in forwarding the interests

of the public service are too well known to require comment here,) discovered, after careful surveys, that a seventy-four could proceed to, and float with ease, at low water, six miles distant from the city. This, of course, proved a most valuable discovery, affording as it did every facility in conveying our men, stores, and heavy ordnance, so much nearer the point of attack than would have been the case otherwise.

The principal point of debarkation selected by Sir Hugh Gough was at a village about five miles by the river line above the factories ; but there were few sources from which information could be obtained as to the feasibility of effecting a landing at this point ; the country to be passed over, the amount of the enemy's force, or any other difficulties which might present themselves, were also totally unknown. A spirited reconnoitre, made by Captain Belcher, of H. M. S. Sulphur, established the practicability of accomplishing the former.

At noon of the 24th, a royal salute was fired from all the ships, in commemoration of the birth of our sovereign, soon after which the troops

were placed in various craft, procured by the great exertions of the Royal Navy. Each of these boats were capable of accommodating from 50 to 200 men, and were admirably adapted for protecting them from the sun. This fleet of boats, conveying upwards of 2700 men, besides quantities of ordnance and commissariat stores, was taken in tow by the *Nemesis*, and reached the village of Tsinghae, the point of debarkation, abouts even o'clock P.M., without one accident happening. Had the enemy been on the alert, they might here have committed dreadful havoc amongst us. The 49th regiment landed immediately. With this corps the general made a reconnoissance a short distance, and drove back some straggling parties of the enemy. After the picquets had been placed, the 49th returned to the village to cover the landing of the guns, which was effected during the night by the arduous exertions of the artillery. A false alarm roused us about midnight ; it was caused by the fall of a pile of arms in one of the boats.

At daylight, on the morning of the 25th, the 37th regiment, M.N.I., and detachment of Bengal

Volunteers, proceeded as an escort with the general in a westerly direction to a rising ground about a mile from the landing-place. From hence a good view was obtained of the line of country we were to pass over. The enemy's picquets were seen at their posts for miles on every side. They were all armed with a matchlock, spear, and shield. They beckoned us to advance, but as we neared them they retired. A portion of the escort ordered forward to reconnoitre was attacked by a large party of soldiers, who advanced from the suburbs of the city. These were permitted to come within good musket range, when a volley from our party soon checked their impetuosity; they speedily retired to a more respectful distance, and again faced round, but satisfied themselves this time with brandishing their swords and spears, and going through every gesture of defiance. They appeared to have the will to exterminate our small party, but they wanted the courage to do so.

A good view of the position we were about to attack was obtained from the rising ground we now occupied. The heights to the north of

Canton, covered by four strong forts, and the city walls, which run over the southern extremity of these heights, appeared to be about four miles distant; the intervening ground undulated much, and was intersected by flats, under wet paddy cultivation, and extensive burying-grounds.

The general having ascertained all he wished, his escort was directed to join the main body. By this time the left column had debarked. This column (the right having been stationed at the factories) was divided into four brigades; the first—reserve or right brigade, under Major General Burrell—consisted of the Royal Marines, and 18th Royal Irish, under Captain Ellis and Colonel Adams; the second brigade was divided into two battalions, one commanded by Captain Maitland, of the Wellesley, and the other by Captain Barlow, of the Nimrod; the third brigade, under Captain Knowles, R.A., was formed by the Royal and Madras Artillery, the former commanded by the Hon. Lieutenant Spencer, and the latter by Captain Anstruther; and the fourth, or left brigade, consisted of H.M.'s 49th, and 37th M.N.I. and Bengal Volunteers, which

corps were commanded respectively by Major Stevens and Captains Duff and Mee. These now received orders to advance. We had not gone many yards, when the headless trunk of a camp-follower was discovered ; his body was untouched, but his murderer had, no doubt, carried away the head of his victim, to enable him to claim the promised reward.

Owing to the rugged nature of the ground, there was considerable difficulty and delay in bringing up the rocket-battery and artillery ; and long before they could be brought to bear upon the forts, the enemy had opened a brisk fire upon our advance. About nine A.M. our guns were in position, and a well-directed fire was opened on the two western forts, which had much annoyed us all the morning by a heavy fire.

Accounts were about this time received of an attack that was made on H. M. S. Sulphur and Nemesis steamer, and an attempt to destroy the boats at the village of Tsing-hae. This was bravely repulsed by the crews of these ships and a detachment of the 37th regiment left at the village. It was here that Captain Hall, of the

Nemesis, finding that a rocket which he was about to fire became obstructed in the tube, thrust his hand in and pulled it out. In doing this his hand was much injured, but he was the means of saving the lives of many by his boldness.

When the firing from our guns had lasted for about a couple of hours, every shot having taken effect, the enemy were seen to collect in great numbers at the entrance into their forts, evidently deliberating on the safest direction for flight.

The fourth brigade was, about 11 A.M., directed to carry a hill to the left of the nearest eastern fort, and the first brigade one immediately in front of it. Simultaneous with these attacks, the brigade of seamen was directed to carry the two western forts; the advance of both to be covered by the concentrated fire of the whole of the guns and rockets. While these movements were in progress, large bodies of the enemy debouched from the surrounding suburbs, threatening our right and rear, and it ultimately became necessary to detach the marines to cover these and support the seamen's brigade.

On the advance being sounded, all parties ap-

peared to vie with one another to reach their respective posts. In the greater part of the advance, the troops had either to wade through recently ploughed fields covered with water, or proceed by single files over a narrow path between two paddy fields. The Chinese were strongly drawn up on the face of the hill, from which missiles of every description were hurled down upon us. From the walls of the city, and from the forts also, volley after volley of round shot and grape were showered forth. Nothing, however, could for a moment withstand the determination of our men. The ascent to the forts was in some places steep and rugged, but they soon gained the summit, by which time the enemy had evacuated them, and were running down the opposite side of the hill, letting off myriads of barbed rockets, which, however, did no further injury than most effectually to prevent the course of their flight being seen. In one of the forts to the west, however, the sailors had hard work of it, the enemy not leaving their stronghold till by means of escalading ladders the

British tars had effected an entrance, and then, hand to hand, cut them to pieces.

The result of these combined attacks was, that the whole line of forts was, in the course of one short hour after the order to advance was given, in the possession of the British, whose standard proudly waved over their highest battlements, and whose troops looked down on the immense city of Canton, from the walls of which they were barely one hundred paces distant.

To the north-east of the city, and removed about half a mile from the two eastern forts, was a strongly entrenched camp of considerable extent ; here the enemy appeared to have rallied, and soon became reinforced by bodies of troops from the city. From this encampment parties frequently sallied forth to attack our men, and although as frequently driven off, it exposed us to an annoying fire from the city walls. In the course of the afternoon, they were evidently joined by some officers of distinction from the city, who, riding at the head of their men, selected a large detachment from the encampment,

and proceeded to take possession of a village close to our left. These the 49th soon dislodged. This corps was afterwards reinforced by the 18th, and a company of marines, who also received orders to take and destroy the encampment. Finding that the 49th had already effected their purpose, the 18th, headed by Colonel Adams, proceeded direct to the camp, which, independent of its own defences, was also well covered by the guns from the city wall. Well and gallantly did the Royal Irish do their duty that day ; regardless both of the shot from the walls, and the showers of grape from the entrenched camp, they advanced all the way at the double, and in a short time everything was in their possession. The enemy were defeated at all points, and fled across the country ; the encampment was burnt, and the magazines blown up ; after which the force returned to the heights. In this advance there were four officers and several men severely wounded.

Our total casualties on this day amounted to about seventy. On the side of the enemy the actual loss was never ascertained, but it must

have been very great. As on all like occasions, many hair-breadth escapes occurred, but none had so narrow a one as the general, having been at one time completely covered with dust and mud, from a shot that struck the ground close to his feet. One chain-shot fired from the city, at the western or Jack's fort, did fearful execution, having shattered the legs of Lieutenants Fox and Kendall of the Nimrod, besides wounding two seamen.

The general decided upon taking by assault, and before the panic ceased, a strong and extensive fortified height within the city wall ; but from the great difficulty in transporting ordnance and ammunition, a few only of the lighter field-pieces had arrived, and the day being so far spent, it was found necessary to postpone further operations till the following day. The few troops, therefore, off duty, bivouacked as best they could during this night.

CHAPTER XV.

The seven days' bivouac on the heights.

THE morning of the 26th had yet hardly dawned when our chief was on the move. All was now still and quiet. The enemy who, till midnight, had kept up an uninterrupted fire upon our positions, disconcerted and fatigued at their vain efforts to dislodge us, appeared to have retired to repose. From the ramparts, which poured forth such volleys yesterday, not a soul was to be seen. From the heights we could perceive the inhabitants deserting the city in great numbers. Crowds, bearing their property on their shoulders, thronged the streets, and were hurrying with all speed towards the gates furthest removed from the forts in our possession ; from

whence, if the eye followed them, myriads of living masses were seen to pour out and disperse throughout the surrounding country. From the city, a constant and unceasing hum went forth. Horses, bullocks, chairs, and every available means of carriage, appeared eagerly sought after ; women and children were heedlessly trampled down by the unthinking multitude, who, urged on by the great ruling passion in the human breast, thought of nought else than self-preservation.

The city of Canton—that proud city, which had so often defied us and insulted our flag, whose population alone was nearly one million, and whose boasted army numbered 50,000, was now humbled before one barely a twentieth part of its strength. The flag of truce, that badge of peace, respected all over the world, but by the Chinese so frequently treated with contempt, was now seen to wave from the most conspicuous parts of the ramparts ; at the same time, a blue-buttoned mandarin, advancing to one of the embrasures nearest to our position, and waving a white flag, seemed to implore an interview. On

this being granted, the Chinese officer stated that he had come to offer certain terms to spare the city. It was explained to him, that the general commanding the British could treat only with the general commanding the Chinese troops, and that if the latter wished for an interview with our general, it could not take place from the city walls, but that tents should be pitched half way between our position and the city, and that then our general and commodore should meet only those of like rank from the enemy. This arrangement was at once agreed to ; a cessation of hostilities took place for two hours, on the expiration of which the white flag was to be struck, unless the interview proved satisfactory. Hour after hour passed, but no deputation from the city made its appearance ; at the appointed time, therefore, the white flag was hauled down. The Chinese, however, did not follow our example. This enabled the engineers and artillery to bring their guns into position, and to discover those places where the defences were weakest, without being exposed to the enemy's fire.

The rain, during the whole afternoon, fell in

torrents, and not only prevented the resumption of hostilities, but thoroughly soaked the ground, which formed alike the bed for the general and common soldier. Yet no complaint was heard ; and the troops, in their wet clothes, with little food and less drink, went to the respective duties allotted to them for the night, without a murmur.

During this night the artillery and sappers were hard at work. Guns, mortars, rocket-tubes, with their formidable appendages, were all placed in position. Orders had been given for the batteries to open at seven A.M., and for the assault an hour afterwards. The assault was directed to be made in four columns, each of which was to be covered by a sharp fire of musketry to prevent the enemy working their guns.

An entrance into the city was to be effected either by escalade, or, if practicable, by blowing the gates open with powder-bags. Each column, on effecting a lodgment, was directed to communicate with, and support that on its inner flank, and when united, to take possession of the

fortified hill within the walls. The walls of the city were in some places thirty feet high, but it was expected that the concentrated fire from our artillery would form a breach, or reduce the height considerably, so as to facilitate the escalading.

Long before daylight on the 27th, our troops were in their ranks ; not a man was absent. Their several duties had been assigned them. The guns were loaded and primed, the port-fires were lit, and the general and commodore were taking a last look previous to giving the signal to commence firing. The enemy, too, now seemed on the alert. They evidently expected an attack, and numbers were seen running backwards and forwards on the ramparts, and taking up their positions at their guns. A few minutes more and the work would have begun ; but suddenly, an unlooked-for obstacle occurred ; a messenger arrived with despatches from the plenipotentiary to the general and commodore. How anxiously did we all watch the features of those brave and determined men as they each perused their documents. Sir Fleming was the first to speak, and

those nearest heard him say, "I protest against the terms of the treaty in toto." The news soon spread; Captain Elliot, as usual, acting on the spur of the moment, had, without even paying those who were so far superior to him in every way, even the compliment of asking their advice, concluded a peace with the Chinese, and ransomed the city of Canton for six millions of dollars. I leave the reader to judge of the disappointment felt by the troops on hearing this intelligence.

The peace was concluded chiefly on the following terms:—1st, That the three imperial commissioners and all the troops not of the province of Canton, proceed sixty miles from the city within six days; 2nd, That six millions of dollars be paid within one week from this date as ransom for the city, for the use of the crown of England; and, 3rd, That until those terms are fulfilled, the British troops remain in their actual positions. Here again the advantages gained by British valour were recklessly thrown away. "Whatever might be my sentiments," remarks Sir H. Gough in his despatch to Lord Auckland,

“ my duty was to acquiesce ; of the policy of the measures, I do not consider myself a competent judge.” And Sir Fleming Senhouse, on the same subject, observes—“ The terms were in opposition to the opinions of the Major-General (Sir Hugh Gough) and myself, as they left the troops in a precarious position for some days, when the conduct of the Chinese hitherto was considered, with whom delay has always been used to strengthen their defences, the result of which has always been a breach of faith. It gave another fair opening for Chinese treachery to work, and it took away the apparent symbol of capture, which would have been prevented by seeing the British banners floating within the city walls, and those walls lying crumbling before it. The fortified heights in the city once gained, the Chinese troops might have marched out and laid down their arms, and not a British soldier had any occasion to enter the populous part of the town.” Doubts have frequently been expressed as to H. M. Plenipotentiary’s power to frame the 3rd article of this treaty, more especially without taking the advice of the general commanding as

to the practicability of carrying it into execution. Here was our small army to remain for a certain number of days, barely 100 paces removed from the city walls, surrounded by many thousands of an enemy of whose faith in adhering to their treaties we have already had several proofs, and who, if they felt inclined, could at once cut off all communication with our shipping ; and in this peculiar position we were directed to remain by a post captain in the Royal Navy.

As the force was to remain in *statu quo* until the money was paid, the most comfortable quarters that could be procured were given to the troops. The suburbs of the city, and the villages around, were completely deserted, except by a few old and diseased of both sexes, who were unable to move.

On the 28th, we entered our new quarters. Hitherto, whether from a burning hot sun, or from torrents of rain, the broad canopy of heaven was our only covering, and the grass our only bed ; but up to this date, with the exception of the wounded, there was not a sick man in the force. When we left our ships, it

was never contemplated that our residence on the heights would have exceeded a day or two at most, consequently the force had come very ill prepared for so long a sojourn. We were solely dependent on our transports for supplies, but these were removed about ten miles from our present position ; besides, in transporting them, there was considerable risk and danger of being attacked by armed parties, who scoured the country for plunder. Fortunately, however, a quantity of rice was found in the enemy's forts, and our foraging parties occasionally returned well laden. Generally the most successful in those expeditions were the Madras Artillery and Sappers and Miners, the profusion and liberality of whose mess was, at all times, certain to attract numerous guests. The great advantage of our Madras servants, who do "yeverry thing for master," over those of Bengal, whose caste does not permit them to do more than one description of work, was here very evident.

It was most gratifying to see the unanimity and good feeling that existed between the European and native soldiers, when employed to-

gether. All caste seemed for the time thrown aside. On our advance up the fortified heights, on the 25th, some convalescents of the 49th regiment, who fell in the rear, were glad to avail themselves of the support willingly offered to them by some men of the 37th regiment, and on gaining the summit, mutual interchanges of the contents of their havresacks were made.

Occasionally laughable incidents happened to amuse and enliven us ; on one occasion a foraging party, which had travelled far, returned laden with every variety of stock. Fatigued by their day's exertion, they proceeded to a tank in the neighbourhood to wash and refresh themselves ; some of them remarked, on getting into the water, that there were nettles close to the side, at the same time recommending their comrades to get in a little higher up. The nettles were found here also ; and after paddling about in the water for some time, they returned on shore, when, to their astonishment, instead of having been stung by nettles, their bodies were covered with leeches. Two jolly tars were one day seen approaching the lines, driving before them a

couple of pigs ; as they neared the lines, the animals came to a sudden halt, nor would threats or blows have any effect upon them. If they moved at all, it was in the wrong direction. The sailors, after persevering for some time, could stand this no longer ; each, therefore, seizing his pig, and, to use their own words, “ with the cutlass cut their gullets,” shouldered them, and proceeded quietly home. On the evening of the 28th, a party, which had been a few miles from camp, reported, on their return, that they had discovered, in a village, between sixty and seventy dead and dying Tartars. These evidently were carried there to give us a false idea of the number killed. The Chinese will brave any danger to carry off from the field a disabled or dead comrade. This, of itself, is a great redeeming trait in their character.

On the 29th, officers and men were to be seen in every direction walking through the deserted suburbs and villages round Canton. Over a large portion of the western suburbs are some extraordinary tombs and magnificent joss-houses, or places of worship ; one very extensive line of

building, close under the city walls, appears solely devoted to the reception of the dead. These are placed in vaults, in strong, substantial, japanned coffins, elevated on pillars, having painted screens in front, perfumed incense-sticks burning at the head and feet, and variegated lamps hung from the ceiling. These coffins are of enormous thickness and strength ; they were, for the most part, placed two in one vault, and, with the exception of a close damp smell, there was no unpleasant sensation perceptible. Outside of these vaults evergreens and creepers were tastefully arranged, and over the doors of many, bee-hives were fixed. In some, the beautiful warbling of the lark and canary at once attracted attention. The poor little birds, neglected for so many days, now welcomed the sounds of approaching footsteps, little fancying that they, too, were to become lawful *loot*. The contents of a few of the coffins that were opened presented an appearance almost natural. The bodies were all embalmed. They were dressed in a long loose upper garment of silk or crape, which crumbled into powder on being touched ; tight breeches of the same ma-

terial, and embroidered shoes. All those examined were males. In the right hand of each was a fan, and in the left a piece of paper, having Chinese characters written thereon. In the corners, and other empty spaces in the coffins, were small bags containing a strong and very peculiar smelling aromatic powder. To an antiquarian, there were many things in this village to excite interest.

The Tartar troops, 10,000 in number, this afternoon evacuated the city. They were permitted to carry away their arms and baggage ; but no banner was to be displayed, nor music sounded. They passed out at the north-east gate of the city, and through the village occupied by the 37th regiment, M.N.I. Yang-fang, their general, a fine-looking old man, was carried in a chair at the head, and his officers rode on ponies by the side of the men. They presented by no means a very martial appearance, and our Sepoys were delighted at the opportunity of laughing at them. Since the arrival of our forces opposite to the wall of Canton, the Tartar and Chinese troops had been carrying on a civil war

within the city, the loss on both sides being very great ; moreover, the shipping and land force had so effectually blockaded and besieged the city, that few or no supplies could enter. It was even declared, by some very credible witnesses, that the Tartar troops ate the flesh of the Chinese that were slain. The authorities, in fact, were driven to that state, that they would have agreed to any terms we chose to dictate, and have granted a much larger ransom had it been demanded. How unfortunate that Captain Elliot's temperament should be so conciliating ! As it is, however, both the navy and army will be well rewarded for the toils and troubles they have endured. This ransom money being quite unconnected with the original claims on the Chinese, it would be rather hard that those who succeeded in procuring it should not benefit therefrom. Besides, we know of no case in the annals of history wherein this practice was deviated from.

On the morning of the 30th, two-thirds of the ransom money was paid, and shipped on board the *Modeste* ; another million was in course of payment, and as security was to be taken for the

remainder, we expected to return to our ships the following day. Everything now looked pacific. There were certainly some rumours that reinforcements were expected for the protection of the city, and that this delay on the part of the authorities to pay up the balance of the money, was merely an excuse to gain time to enable those troops to arrive. But as the plenipotentiary gave no credence to these reports, of course no one else did.

We had not, however, yet finished that most agreeable of all medicines, in almost universal use among those whose fate it is to be resident for any period in a tropical climate,—namely, a cheroot after breakfast—when the bugle, sounding the alarm, was heard. The sound proceeded from the direction of the general's quarters. It was taken up on all sides. Major Beecher, the quarter-master-general, now made his appearance in the village occupied by the 37th regiment; to the officer commanding which corps, he said, “The enemy are advancing upon us, fall in your men, and proceed to support the Cameronians.”

The regiment was soon under arms and in position.

A large body of Chinese was here observed in front, drawn out in line, and certainly presenting a most formidable appearance. They covered a space of ground about a mile in length, and were removed from the heights about three miles. The 37th regiment was directed to proceed towards the left, the 26th, to the right, and the marines, who had just come up, advanced in the centre. The day was one of the hottest the oldest Indian present had ever experienced, and the ground over which the troops had to pass was either paddy fields or thick jungle. However, where no paths were found, new ones were formed. The 37th had not proceeded far, when they surprised a large body of the enemy's advance. These were quietly sitting under the shade of some trees, drinking tea, nor were they aware of our approach until a few well-directed musket bullets, from our light company, whizzed in amongst them, upon which they all took to their heels, leaving their spears, their cups, and

their buckets of tea for their pursuers. We advanced upon the main body. These were soon in full flight. They did not at all appear to relish our steady advance, nor that of the Royal Marines and the Cameronians. We now fell back, and were shortly joined by the General and his staff, and H. M. 49th regiment ; this regiment, with the Royal Marines, were now directed to return to their quarters ; the General himself remaining, with the wing of the 26th and 37th regiments, to watch the movements of the Chinese, who had retreated to a range of heights in front. These were here joined by large reinforcements, and numbered certainly upwards of 10,000. They came down to the plain, and, shouting, beating their gongs, and waving their banners, continued steadily and boldly to advance. Captain Knowles, who had at this time arrived with some rockets, plowed line after line through their ranks ; still they did not appear intimidated. The rain unfortunately began to threaten—a storm was evidently approaching. At this moment the heat was most oppressive, and both officers and men were

greatly exhausted. The atmosphere was close and dense—the roll of distant thunder was heard, and the rays of the sun had so heated the air, that on its being inhaled, a sensation was left in the lungs similar to that felt when the vapour bath has been raised to too high a temperature. It was about this time that Major Beecher, deputy quarter-master-general, dropped down dead from a *coup de soleil*.

It was evident the enemy must be driven back and dispersed, otherwise they might advance upon our camp during the night. The threatening aspect of the weather rendered it necessary to effect this without delay. About two P.M. the General directed Major Pratt to proceed and disperse a large body that occupied an extensive line of paddy-field on his left, and to clear the hills to his front. The 37th regiment was at the same time ordered to dislodge a similar body to the right, and then push forward to clear the hills to their front. The latter corps was supported by the Bengal Volunteers. A company of the 37th regiment was directed to proceed to the left, to keep up a communication with the Cameronians.

As usual, the nearer we approached the Chinese, the further they retired. We pursued the enemy for upwards of four miles, when it was judged prudent to retire.

The thunder-storm was now awful ; the rain fell in torrents, and prevented our seeing an object even removed a few yards distant. Many of our firelocks had got wet ; at one time the 26th had been unable to fire a single musket, and many of them were surrounded by the Chinese, who, on seeing us retire, again collected on our flanks and rear. The want of a few light cavalry was here much felt.

It would be difficult to give a description of this retrograde movement. The rain had completely obliterated every trace of a foot-path. All before us was one sea of water. At times the leading files would suddenly disappear in some deep pit or ditch, which it was impossible to guard against. The thunder and lightning were perfectly terrific. The Chinese, no doubt, looked upon the storm as a judgment inflicted by their gods on the barbarians.

About five P.M. the 37th had arrived at the

position they originally started from. Here Sir Hugh Gough still stood, and how gratified must every man present have been to see him so satisfied with what had been done. He shook hands with and thanked the native officers for their exertions. The 26th were seen approaching; and as the detached company of the 37th was supposed to be in its rear, we were ordered to return to our barracks. We had not, however, gone far, when it was discovered that the detached company had never joined the 26th. An express was immediately dispatched for two companies of the Royal Marines, armed with percussion muskets. The portion of the force that had been employed all day were fatigued, and the rain had rendered their firelocks unserviceable, so that it would have been useless to have sent them in search of the missing men.

The rear of the 26th, while returning, had been much annoyed by the enemy, who, taking advantage of the almost helpless state of the men, whose bayonets were all but useless weapons when opposed to the enemy's long spears, could offer but little resistance beyond self-protection.

With an instrument resembling a shepherd's crook attached to a long bamboo, the Chinese contrived to pull over some of the rear-rank men, and afterwards rush on the unfortunate victims with their swords. Major Pratt, in saving the life of one, was pulled over with one of those weapons, but sustained no other injury than having his jacket torn from the collar to the cuff. The 26th lost in this affair three men, and had one officer and ten men wounded.

Great anxiety was entertained for the fate of the missing company. It was natural to suppose that, by this time, the men would be considerably fatigued. Their food had just been cooked, when the order arrived to fall in ; and so anxious were they to close with the "soors" (pigs) who had been the means of bringing them from their own country, (an expression which the Sepoys were often heard to make use of,) that they preferred leaving their meal untouched, saying that they would have a better appetite for it on their return ; consequently none of them had tasted food since the previous day at noon. They were, moreover, exposed the whole

of this day to most harassing duty ; at one time, under a broiling sun, and at another, under drenching rain. In a small force like ours—at least, small compared to the numbers opposed to us, the loss of even one company of sixty men would be severely felt ; but Providence had destined it otherwise. An occasional musket shot was heard by the marines in search, and on advancing towards the spot from whence it proceeded, a distinct “ hurrah ” was heard to follow each report. The marines also fired a few shots, and returned the “ hurrah ; ” and before they were aware of it, (for at this time it was quite dark, and continued to rain,) came suddenly upon a large body of Chinese, who scampered off so soon as they saw the reinforcement approaching, and exposed to view the lost party, drawn up in form of a square.

“ It gives me no ordinary gratification,” remarks the general in his despatch to the Governor-General of India, “ to say that a little after dark they found Lieutenant Hadfield, with his gallant company in square, surrounded by some thousand Chinese, who, as the 37th’s fire-

locks would not go off, had approached close to them. The Sepoys, I am proud to say, in this critical situation, nobly upheld the high character of the native army by unshrinking discipline and cheerful obedience ; and I feel that the expression of my best thanks is due to Lieutenant Hadfield, and to Lieutenant Devereux and Ensign Berkeley, who zealously supported him during this trying scene." A few well-directed volleys, fired by the marines in the direction of the cowardly enemy, instantly dispersed them with great loss, after which the whole party returned homewards, the marines carrying such as were wounded. It was about nine, P.M., when they reached the lines, where many hearty congratulations passed on all sides. Lieutenant Whiting commanded the detachment of marines which was thus the means of preserving the forlorn company of the 37th regiment. It now appeared that this company commenced returning about the same time as the rest of the force composing the advance ; they had not, however, proceeded far when they perceived indistinctly through the rain a body of men, whom

they supposed to be the 26th, advancing towards them. These soon approached sufficiently close to convince the party that their situation now was a most critical one, and that it was the enemy who were collecting again in great force. They attempted to retire, but were soon surrounded by about 3000 men, who, yelling like fiends, and considering the party their prey, were fast closing on them. A few well-directed shots from the muskets that were still serviceable told well in the crowd ; among those first knocked over, was their chief and their standard-bearer. The former was immediately picked up, and was being carried to the rear on the shoulders of one of his men, when another shot from the square brought both to the ground. The rain, having now ceased, the party was enabled to fire a few volleys, which for a time dispersed the enemy, and allowed them to proceed a considerable way home, the Chinese, however, keeping at some distance in the rear. On the rain again coming on, they closed, and a second time surrounded our party, which had here the mortification to see, in the distance, the rest of the force proceeding on

to camp. At this time not a musket would go off, and, as we have already said, little resistance could be offered with the bayonet against the enemy's long spears. The company remained in this position upwards of an hour, the enemy removed only from fifteen to thirty paces ; had they possessed the slightest determination, they might have at once annihilated our small party, but the steady front of bayonets frightened them. The rain ceasing to fall for a time, enabled the party to discharge a few of their muskets, and every bullet told, as a matter of course. The men, who had been throughout as steady in their ranks as they could possibly be on parade, now commenced extracting the wet cartridges, and baling water into the barrels of their pieces, and with the lining of their turbans (the only dry thing about them) washed and dried them. This was done, too, with the enemy removed but a few paces from them. The party was thus enabled to fire several volleys in succession, which forced the enemy to retire, and again our men proceeded a considerable way homewards, followed, however, though at a respectful distance, by the

enemy. The rain again returning, encouraged the Chinese to advance; nothing, therefore, was left for our men but again to form square, in which position they made up their minds to remain till morning. It was here that one of the enemy, armed with a musket belonging to a sepoy, who had been killed, retired behind a bank, distant from the square about twenty paces, and deliberately resting the piece on the bank, applied his slow match to the powder in the pan, and lodged the ball in Lieutenant Berkeley's arm. The party had been in this position for about two hours when they first became aware that assistance was approaching.

During the whole of the period this small party was so much harassed, no body of men could possibly have been steadier, or behaved with greater coolness and bravery. The eagerness with which they obeyed the orders of their officers, their agility in warding off every blow, and resisting the sudden rushes on the square, their determination in saving the lives of their comrades, who more than once fell into the hands of the enemy, and their steady conduct through-

out, reflect not only credit on themselves, but also on the army they belong to, and deserve to be recorded in the annals of British India as a proof of what can be effected by discipline and bravery.

The loss this company sustained was, two privates killed, one officer and thirteen men severely wounded. The party had hardly quitted their last position, when the enemy opened a fire upon them from a small gun which they had mounted on a neighbouring rising ground, but the shot fell short. There can be little doubt that the salvation of this company was mainly owing to its having its full complement of European officers present with it.

On the 31st, 8000 Tartar troops left the city, and the remainder were prepared to follow when carriage was provided. Doubts were entertained whether treachery was not contemplated, more especially as a large body of men was again assembling on the scene of yesterday's contest. Information was now communicated to the authorities in the city, that if there was again any demonstration of hostilities, the white flag

should be hauled down, and the city immediately stormed. They declared that this hostile movement was without their knowledge, and against their consent ; that they were villagers and militia, who, calling themselves "Soldiers of Righteousness," had assembled to protect the villages in the plain. A mandarin was sent from the city to communicate with them, upon which the whole body instantly retreated and dispersed. The troops who had been again ordered out on the re-appearance of this force, now returned to their lines.

Five millions of dollars having been received, and satisfactory security procured for the remainder, the force left the heights above Canton on the morning of the 1st of June, the Chinese having furnished 800 coolies to convey guns, stores, &c., to the village of Tsinghae, from whence we were again taken in tow of the *Nemesis*, and reached our respective ships that evening, having left the great city of Canton a second time "a record of British magnanimity and forbearance."

CHAPTER XVI.

Death of Sir Humphrey Le Fleming Senhouse—Return of
Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer—Sickness at Hong-
Kong—Typhoons of 21st and 26th July.

ON the departure of Sir Le Fleming Senhouse from England, it was intended that he should have been second in command of the naval portion of the expedition. But from a succession of untoward circumstances, the intention could not be carried into effect. This, at the time, was very tantalizing, and it became the more so when, in November, 1840, on Admiral Elliot's proceeding home, the supreme command of the fleet devolved upon the officer who, by the merest chance, had superseded him, and who was his senior in rank by a few days only. Nor was it until the month of March, 1841, on the

departure of Sir Gordon Bremer to Calcutta, that Sir Fleming became senior officer of the fleet.

As has been seen, it was during the brief reign of this gallant veteran that the most brilliant occurrences of the expedition have taken place.

In his own service, Sir Fleming was beloved and respected, except by those few whose zeal did not form a prominent part of their character.

With the army he was an universal favourite. From him they at all times derived every possible assistance ; to co-operate with them seemed to afford him pleasure. Situated as that branch of the service is on this, and, indeed, on all joint expeditions, and dependent so frequently on the navy for many of their comforts, they have had every reason to feel grateful to Sir Fleming for his assiduous attentions, and his anxiety at all times to meet their wishes.

During the operations above Canton, he exerted himself in an extraordinary degree—at one time present with the fleet in the river, and at

another with the general in the field. Like many others, however, excitement and hard work seemed to steel him against disease, though inhaling the poisonous miasma exhaled from the swamps and paddy which surrounded our position. It was on the passage down the river that sickness made its appearance in the force, and Sir Fleming was destined to be the first to sink under it.

On the morning of the 13th of June, when it was announced to him that all hopes of saving his life was at an end, he immediately directed that the signal be made for all captains of H. M.'s ships to repair on board ; but ere the first had arrived, our gallant commodore was a corpse.

He carried with him to the grave the regret of all. "He participated in all the privations that the troops underwent on the heights above Canton, and has fallen a victim to the zeal that marked his character." He was buried at Macao, and a monument was erected over his remains by a joint subscription of the officers of the army and navy.

On the 22nd of June, Commodore Sir Gordon

Bremer returned from Calcutta, invested with authority by her Majesty to co-operate with Captain Elliot as joint plenipotentiary.

Sickness had, in the meantime, prostrated many in the force and fleet. Death had numbered some of our best men among its victims. In a few weeks, however, a rapid improvement took place among those who had not been removed from their transports, or who, on the continued increase of disease, had returned to them. The troops who were obliged to remain on shore continued to suffer much. Two-thirds of the latter were, during the months of June, July, and August, quite unfit for duty. Nor was there a solitary European at this time resident on the island who escaped the prevailing fever, the recovery from which was frequently uncertain, or the convalescence tardy and unsatisfactory.

Malaria, always present in marshy and certain jungly districts, caused by the decomposition of vegetable and animal substances, is on the island of Hong-Kong to be found, where no vegetable is to be seen, and where no marsh

exists. Fevers appear an endemic disease on the coast of China, to guard against which, even the poorest peasants spares no expense or trouble to make his dwelling comfortable, and thus protect him from those frequent and sudden transitions from heat to cold so frequent in this climate. Moreover, the natives so regulate their dress, that at one period of the day they may be seen in the thinnest and coolest habiliments, and in another, clad in furs and woollens ; or what is a more general habit, they put on a succession of garments as the cold increases, and again throw them aside as it becomes warm.

The climate of Hong-Kong at this period was most variable, the thermometer ranging frequently 10° , 15° , and at times 20° , in the twenty-four hours. The troops were cantoned on the brow of a high hill, from whence cold blasts of wind and heavy falls of rain were in quick succession followed by a burning hot sun ; and the barracks provided for them were wretchedly ill adapted for so changeable a climate. Is it a wonder, then, that disease increased ? In the 37th regiment, 600 strong, barely 100 men were

effective ; two of the officers had died, and of the sixteen remaining, one only was fit for duty. In our crowded hospitals, sores of a frightful character made their appearance ; these terminated in hospital gangrene. The slightest abraded surface speedily degenerated into a foul, malignant ulcer ; wounds received in action at Cheumpee and elsewhere, but which had been cicatrized for days and days, now again broke out. Many poor fellows, proud of their wounds, and rendered thereby disqualified for further effective service, looked forward with pleasure and anxiety to the period of return to their native homes, where they would be enabled to spend the rest of their days in ease and comfort with their families, on the bountiful provision of their honourable masters, were now cut off.

The corps was exactly in this state, with an hospital crowded to overflowing, when the typhoon of the 21st of July came on. It had commenced about midnight, and continued steadily increasing in violence, and at six A.M. it blew a hurricane from the N.W. The hospital of the 37th, which fronted in this direction, was a continued line of

building, constructed of bamboo and palmyra leaf, 200 feet long by 18 broad, into which upwards of 300 men were stowed—an additional hundred having a few days previously been placed on board ship.

I had about half finished my visit in the morning of this day, when I observed the side of the building facing the gale evidently yield to the force of the tempest. I immediately directed those of the sick who could move to leave the building forthwith, and was hastening to do so myself also, when suddenly I heard a tremendous crash, and ere I was able to reach the door, with many others, was thrown on my face, and crushed under the wreck of the building. The shrieks and groans of the miserable bed-ridden patients, the howling of the wind, and the crackling of the beams, sounded to me, when I had recovered consciousness, something more than horrifying, more especially as I was myself deprived, by an intolerable dead weight upon my shoulders and back, which pressed my chest to the ground, from taking part in it. The ground on which I had fallen was fortunately much softened with

the rain, the building having been thrown several feet beyond its original foundation. I was thus enabled, after extricating my arms, and assisted by a sepoy, who was equally anxious with myself to become free, to scrape, or rather burrow, my way out, and tottering to my brother officers' quarters, apprised them of their danger, and announced to them what had already happened.

By dint of very great exertions on the part of the officers and the few men who could be procured, the sick were extricated from the wreck of the hospital, and placed in one of the other barracks—alas ! merely to have the same scene acted over again. Barrack after barrack was levelled with the ground. The officers' houses followed ; their kit was flying about in all directions. The force of the wind tore the very flooring from the sleepers. It was now *sauve qui peut*, for there was danger in remaining in the vicinity of the lines.

The sea, at all other times in this harbour so still and smooth, was now fiercely agitated, and had already encroached upon the island far beyond its natural bounds. Ships drifting from

their anchorages were seen rapidly nearing the shore, while their crews were labouring hard to cut away the masts, their only chance of preservation. Occasionally, as the atmosphere cleared across the bay, several ships could be seen clustered in one spot, giving one another a friendly embrace. Ships of seven and eight hundred tons were on shore, in water which, on ordinary occasions, is barely knee-deep. Innumerable boats were scattered in fragments on the beach, while underneath and around them were many mangled and lacerated corpses of Chinese.

At three P.M. the typhoon was at its height ; the wind and drenching rain continued unabated, and torrents, in form of cascades, poured down the hills, sweeping everything before them. The houses had all been destroyed, and no covering remained to protect from the raging elements. The natives were running wildly about, vainly beseeching succour from their gods. At times masses of loose stone would become separated from the mountains, and roll down the hill like a huge avalanche, threatening destruction to all below. The last days of Hong-Kong seemed

approaching. It was a grand but truly awful sight.

It will be easier to conceive than to describe the helpless and wretched condition in which the inhabitants of this newly-colonized island spent this night.

On the evening of the 25th, and the greater part of the 26th of July, the island was again visited by a typhoon, which, though not so violent as that now described, swept away all that escaped the gale of the 21st. It destroyed the temporary buildings thrown up, and exposed the wretched inmates a second time to the fury of a dreadful tempest of wind and rain. The losses sustained, both in life and property, by these typhoons, have been fearfully disastrous. The closeness and oppressive nature of the atmosphere some hours previous to their coming on, evidently indicated the approach of a storm ; and the native population, who are generally pretty correct in their indications of the weather, foretold, as did also the barometer, on both occasions, that a typhoon might be expected.

Connected with this subject, I shall devote the

following chapter to a graphic and interesting account of the loss of one of H. M.'s cutters, (communicated by Lieutenant Morgan, R.N., to that admirable periodical, *The Chinese Repository*,) having on board the two plenipotentiaries, who fell into the hands of the Chinese, and who very narrowly escaped a trip to Peking.

CHAPTER XVII.

Narrative of the loss of H. B. M.'s cutter *Louisa*, in the typhoon of the 21st of July, 1841.

JULY 20th.—Went on board the *Louisa*, with the commodore and Captain Elliot, for the purpose of proceeding to Hong-Kong to rejoin the *Wellesley*. The wind being light, and the ebb-tide making strong, we were compelled to anchor about two o'clock, P.M., to wait for the flood, which made about five ; and a good breeze then springing up, we stood along through the Lantao passage, though rather too far to the southward, having been drifted down by the tide. The wind gradually freshened to about a double-reefed topsail breeze, and at ten o'clock, finding we were going to leeward, we anchored close under the island of Laff-sam-ee ; wind north.

July 21st.—At about half-past twelve o'clock at night weighed again, and endeavoured to weather the Island of Ichow, but could not ; and the cutter being close to the shore, and having missed stays twice, we were compelled to go to leeward of it. Wind north, a little westerly : course to Hong-Kong, north-east. Attempted to work to windward, but could do nothing ; cutter again missed stays, and in wearing, when the mainsail was jibbed, the main-boom snapped in halves. We double reefed the sail, got a sheet aft, and tried her under that sail, with the mizzen, fore-staysail, and jib, but she was lagging away to leeward so fast, that, the wind too having increased considerably, we were forced to anchor about half-way between Ichow and Chichow, with a reef of rocks astern of us ; as we anchored, the mizzen bumkin went before the sail could be taken in.

As day broke, the prospect was anything but cheering ; it was blowing a gale from N.W. to N.N.W., and evidently increasing in violence every moment : a heavy sea was running, which the little cutter rode out beautifully, only now

and then shipping a sea ; every hatch was now battened down, and the increasing sea frequently broke over us ; our anchors and cables being good, we held on well. About eight o'clock, A.M., it was manifest that we must slip, but it was determined to hold on until we could do so no longer ; about nine o'clock, A.M., the heavy pitching carried away the jib-boom ; and the gaff-top-sail being still aloft, after much difficulty it was got down, and the head of the topmast twisted off, but the spar could not be got on deck ; it was accordingly lashed, and we stood by to slip. About a quarter past ten o'clock the land was seen through the haze, close under our lee, and the cutter was driving down upon it : we immediately slipped, cut away the mizzen-mast, and put the vessel before it, shipping some very heavy seas in the attempt. The fore-staysail was hoisted, but instantly blown out of the bolt-rope ; the peak of the mainsail was then ordered to be swayed up above the gunwale, in order that we might have her under command ;—the men clapped on the throat-halyards, and the peak fell down and was jammed in the larboard gangway

abaft ; we were by this time within sixty yards of the shore, upon which the surf was breaking terrifically. Mr. Owen, the second master, incautiously went before the gangway, and attempted to lift the peak out clear, the men swaying on the halyards at the same time ; it suddenly flew out, and jerked Mr. Owen into the sea, swung round, and was brought up by the fore rigging ; the gaff went in two, and the sail, with part of the gaff, went forward, and was jammed before the rigging,—the foot of the sail towing overboard, thus leaving us an excellent little sail to scud under ; it was instantly lashed and made secure. A tumbling sea, which broke over us, washed everything off the deck that was not lashed, and amongst other things a hen-coop, which poor Owen got hold of, after having taken off his pea-jacket in the water. Another heavy sea broke on board, washed away the man at the tiller, and unshipped it ; we were within twenty yards of the surf, and our situation truly awful. Owen's fate now seemed but the precursor of ours, and our moments, we thought, were numbered ; but the hand of Providence was stretched

forth to save us. Lord Amelius Beauclerk caught hold of the tiller, and endeavoured to ship it, but a heavy lurch sent him to leeward ; I picked it up, and, with the assistance of the men, it was shipped, put hard a-port, and we passed clear of the end of the island, with the surf nearly breaking on board of us.

We could do nothing but run before the gale, keeping a good look-out a-head, and thus we passed about an hour of anxiety and uncertainty, lest there should be other land to leeward. Our doubts on this matter were soon over, for the cry of “ breakers right a-head ” seemed again to warn us that our lives were but of short duration ; the land appeared towering many hundred feet above us, and the roar of the breakers, as they dashed against a precipitous wall of granite, was heard above the fearful violence of the tempest. “ Hard a-port ! ”—and—“ hard a-starboard ! ”—were shouted out in quick succession by Captain Elliot, who was standing forward, holding on by the fore-rigging ; as the little vessel obeyed her helm, a blast, which seemed a concentration of all the winds, threw her nearly on her broadside,

but she gallantly stood up again under it, and we passed within a few yards of a smooth granite precipice, on which the sea first broke, and to have touched which would have shivered the cutter into a thousand fragments. We ran along this frightful coast, the wind nearly a-beam, for not less than 300 yards, expecting every moment to be our last ; but God, in his infinite mercy, was pleased to have us in his special keeping, and we rounded the end of this land, with the feelings of men who had been delivered from a frightful, and, as we deemed, an inevitable death, with not a chance (from the nature of the coast) of one of our lives being saved.

We now had evidently (from the long following seas) got out of the immediate vicinity of the islands, and the wind abated a little ; the sail was scarcely sufficient to steady the vessel, and to keep her before the seas, which frequently broke over us. We passed through a space of about two and a half or three miles, which was covered with floating fragments of wrecks of Chinese and foreign vessels, affording a melancholy proof of what devastation of property and

loss of life must have been caused, and that, our lives being spared, we had much to be thankful for.

It was now about three o'clock, P.M., and the wind had gradually veered round to E. and S.E., and continued shifting between those points, so that our course was from W. to N.W., but nearer the former than the latter. We concluded that we had passed to the southward of the Ladrões, and if so, that we must, by steering that course, be running directly for the shore about Montanha. The water now became very much discoloured, so much so as to leave a sediment on the decks and on our clothes as the sea broke over us: two hand leads were lashed together, and we got soundings in seven fathoms. The gale was blowing with redoubled fury, and it was plain that this time, as we were running on towards the main, (or rather, the western inlands,) there was only one chance of safety for us, and that was, to get into one of the many creeks or channels for boats which are rather numerous about that part of the coast; and, failing this, to run her into shoaler water, let go the anchor,

and put our trust in that all-seeing Providence who had already twice preserved us. "High land right a-head!" again put to flight all our speculations; and we were once more to find ourselves saved from imminent peril. The wind literally howled and screamed through the rigging, and our little sail began to shew symptoms of being no longer able to withstand the fearful conflict. Again the land towered above us, and a surf broke close on our larboard beam, about 150 yards from the shore; we cleared this danger, and ran along the land. Suddenly, through the mist, a gap was seen in the outline, and high land trending away beyond on both sides, which Captain Elliot instantly declared to be a creek: our hopes were fixed on rounding the point, where we should be, comparatively speaking, in shelter; but the thing seemed impossible. The wind and waves, as if determined not to be again robbed of their prey, raged with inconceivable fury; and the surf, breaking to a height of 150 feet, gave us too sure intimation of what would be our fate should we but touch the iron-bound coast. We steered as high for clearing the point

as possible ; we gradually neared it ; each surf broke closer,—we could only hold our course ; we seemed bearing down upon the breakers : it was an awful moment !—we were looking for and expecting the shock, beyond which all would be oblivion ; a surf broke almost on board, and the cutter was hid in the spray—a terrific blast split our sail to shreds ; “ hard a-port ! ”—a moment of breathless suspense,—and, thanks be to Almighty God, we passed clear. We felt directly that we were partially sheltered, and stood by the anchor, for we were drifting right upon the shore ; it was accordingly let go, and held, checking her way for a moment, and nearly taking her under water. A heavy sea broke over us, and I fancied we were lifted over a rock, for I was quite sensible of a shock, which a person who has once been aground cannot easily mistake ; the cable flew out of the hawse, and the anchor again brought us on our beam-ends ; the water was up to the combings of the hatchways, but she rose very slowly ; we were within thirty yards of the rocks, and embayed ; the cable had checked her considerably, and we

slowly drifted towards the shore, Captain Elliot conning her. The cable running out, she struck about fifteen or twenty yards from the precipitous coast; the next sea lifted her so that she bilged, and filled instantly, with her starboard bow touching a detached rock, and receding with the sea. Several people jumped overboard, others got on the rocks on the starboard bow, and threw themselves down to prevent being washed off by the surf, which now swept the vessel, and threatened her with almost instant annihilation. Great danger was apprehended from the fall of the mast, which would have come upon those who were on the rock. One of the boys swam over, and a rope being thrown him, he made it fast to the shore, and it was passed round a portion of our rock of refuge, by which means all hands got safely on shore. Captain Elliot and two of the men were washed off the rock, but fortunately succeeded in reaching the land, though much exhausted.

There we stood,—out of all danger from the violence of the tempest,—and saw the gradual destruction of the gallant little vessel which had

borne us along so well, through a storm hardly to be surpassed in violence, and through perils which men doubtless sometimes witness, but seldom live to recount ; and I do not believe there was a man amongst our number, twenty-three in all, who (thoughtless though sailors be) did not offer up a fervent prayer of thanksgiving to God, who had so signally vouchsafed to stretch forth his hand and save us.

Two or three of the men now went up the hill to look at the surrounding country, but nothing was seen of any human habitation ; they returned and reported accordingly. About half-past five the tide had fallen so that we went down to the wreck to endeavour to save a small quantity of provisions, and to get some blankets and cloth clothing to shelter ourselves against the inclemency of the weather. We succeeded in procuring both, but not in such quantities as we could have wished ; and as the vessel was going to pieces, it was not safe to make a very long stay on board. We got, besides a sail, or part of one, a tarpaulin, and eight bottles of gin, a small portion of which was instantly served out

to all hands, upon which, with a small piece of raw beef or pork, we made our first meal after nearly twenty-four hours' fasting.

As many as could get them, put on cloth under thin trowsers, and those who had flannel waistcoats were fortunate. We then began to make arrangements for passing the night. Having found a fissure in the side of a precipice, open at the top with a small space outside, we placed stones so as to cover a small mountain stream that ran through the centre of our comfortless abode, and strapped the tarpaulin up across the entrance, where it was exposed to the unabated fury of the typhoon. Having taken off our clothes and wrung them, and put them on again, the Commodore, Captain Elliott, Lord A. Beauclerk, myself, the Commodore and Captain Elliot's servants, and a little Portuguese boy, sat down in a circle, with our backs to the sides of the cavern and the tarpaulin, and had a large blanket thrown over all. As there was no room for more inside, a wet sail was spread outside over the rocks. Mr. Fowler and Lena (second mate), and the men, rolled themselves up in

blankets, and laid down exposed to the wind and rain. The latter descended in torrents all night, pouring down upon us in little cascades from all parts of the rock above, making a channel amongst the people on the sail; in fact, it was very like lying down to sleep in a running stream. Of course, few were fortunate enough to close their eyes in slumber, and the gradual breaking up of the little cutter continually called forth an exclamation from some of us, as crash after crash was heard above the noise of the wind and breakers. We who were within the cleft remained in a sitting posture all night, for there was no room to recline.

At length, morning of the 22nd dawned, and we saw all that held together of the Louisa; her taffrail jammed between two rocks, and a few of the deck planks adhering, but all the rest was scattered along the coast in fragments. We stripped, wrung our clothes, and put them on again, and having served out a small quantity of spirits, several exploring parties went out to endeavour to find some Chinese.

We were not very far from a sandy bay, on

which were cast up many articles of wreck ; along this bay a party was sent, whilst others went up the hills ; some descended to our own wreck, and a few remained in or near the cavern. We had not been down long before we discovered under planks and timbers the bodies of three Chinese frightfully lacerated by the rocks ; their vessel must have been driven on shore during the night. Suddenly, I heard myself hailed, and looking up, saw two Chinese, each of them appropriating a blanket. All hands were instantly recalled, and we began to talk to them ; one of them had a most benevolent countenance, and to him was the conversation principally addressed. This man gave Captain Elliot a paper, which was folded and quite saturated with water, but after some time we got two of the folds clear, and were delighted to see Captain Elliot's signature, and some of the cutter's men said they recognised our friend as one of the boat people at Macao. He was instantly offered 1000 dollars if he would give us a fishing boat to take us thither ; this he undertook to do very readily,

and beckoned us to follow him, which we did, having first shouldered the beef and pork and gin, and put as many clothes on as we could get. On the top of the hill we were joined by the party which went round the sandy bay ; they said they had found the bodies of eleven Chinese, and the wreck of a large junk, and one of them had picked up the box containing the commodore's decorations, which we distributed amongst ourselves, and put in our pockets. We were very badly off for shoes ; I had only one, and the consequence was, my feet were much cut ; we walked along over two hills in single file, and as we topped the third, saw an extensive valley with a long sandy beach, on which the sea was breaking heavily. A creek ran up on the left side by a considerable village or hamlet, and the place seemed full of people. Scarcely had we appeared over the hill, when we were seen by the Chinese ; the women and children ran away, screaming Fanqui ! Fanqui ! and the men, armed with bill-hooks, rushed up the path in hundreds, railing at and menacing us. However,

our benevolent guide explained matters to them, and about sixty passed us to go and plunder the wreck. At length one of them stopped Captain Elliot, and commenced rifling his pockets; I was walking behind Captain Elliot, and the same fellow thrust his hand into my pockets, in which was the star of the Hanoverian Guelphic order; I squeezed my arm to my side to prevent his taking it, when he shook his bill-hook in my face, and another fellow jumped upon a large stone, and flourished his weapon over my head; still I held on, when the first man struck me a severe blow on the arm with the back of the bill-hook. Captain Elliot looked round just then, and said it was no use resisting, and that I had better give up everything to them, they being twenty to one, and we wholly unarmed and in their power. I accordingly resisted no longer, and repeated Captain Elliot's advice to those behind me. Having taken the contents of our pockets, and eased the bearers of the beef, pork, and gin, of their loads, they returned and stripped us of clothing, just allowing a regard to common

decency, after which they molested us no further. The only two amongst us who were struck were the commodore (who was knocked down) and myself.

On our arrival before a little shed, one of the outermost houses of the village, our friend commenced preparing it for our reception—a proceeding we did not by any means admire, as we had understood that a boat would at once take us to Macao ; but he said the wind was too high, which in truth it was, and we were therefore compelled to enter and wait the result. Our man, who was named Mingfong, made a fire, and gave us a breakfast of rice and salt fish, which we were too happy to get ; having satisfied our appetites, we endeavoured to dry our clothes, and make ourselves as comfortable as men in our situation could do. We presently ascertained, with great satisfaction, that there were no officers in the place, so that if we could manage properly, there was every probability of our escaping a trip to Peking. Captain Elliot increased the sum originally offered to 2000

dollars, if they would take us to Macao as soon as the wind moderated, and after some difficulty it was agreed to.

We had the satisfaction of seeing the people passing and repassing with different articles of our property in their possession, many of which they brought to us to inquire the uses of. The bodies of three Chinese had been discovered almost on the spot where the *Louisa* was wrecked ; and as they bore some frightful marks, caused by dashing against the rocks, it was supposed we had murdered them. This was a very awkward affair ; but we could only deny it strenuously, with every expression of horror that such a crime should be imputed to us, who had so providentially been saved from the same fate as these poor men. However, they would not be persuaded to the contrary, or they did not understand our explanation, until Lena, by gestures, shewed them that in all probability the junk people had lashed themselves to spars, and in endeavouring to reach the land on them, had been dashed against the rocks, which accounted for their lacerated appearance, and the ropes

found round their bodies. They went away apparently satisfied, but occasionally two or three would return and revive the matter, making demonstration of sharpening knives and cutting throats. When they found the cutter's arms, they were also very angry, and stormed and railed against us most violently.

All the women and children in the place crowded round to look at us (particularly when eating), and many were the inquiries made as to the sex of old Joe, the commodore's black Gen-too servant, who wearing earrings, and having his hair turned back and twisted in a knot behind, did bear some resemblance to a female; but on closer inspection, his thick beard, whiskers, and mustachios, might have satisfied the most sceptical amongst them. They had, however, taken away his earrings, and one savage attempted to cut off his ear.

We had another mess of rice towards evening, and that night slept around the fire, though not very soundly, for we were apprehensive the Chinese had some design upon us, but I believe no harm was intended. People were walking

about all night, which kept us on the *qui vive*. The wind having moderated very considerably, Captain Elliot proposed to them to go that night ; but they were afraid of the Ladrones, and though tempted by an additional 1000 dollars, they refused ; their wives appeared to object to the proceeding, or I think they would have been induced to go. During the night, Captain Elliot made a final arrangement, by which we were to start at daylight on the morning of the 23rd, in two boats ; in each boat there were to be but two people, the remainder to be sent for on our arrival at Macao, for which service they were to receive 3000 dollars, and 100 dollars for each of the boats.

At daylight on the 23rd we were prepared to start, but the Chinese tantalized us by making thole-pins, mending sails, &c. ; at last, we had the satisfaction of seeing two boats come down the creek, and anchor abreast of our dwelling. The people to whom the boats belonged now refused to let them go unless 150 dollars were given for each, and this after some demur was agreed to, as every moment's delay increased the

probability of our falling into the hands of the officers; but no sooner had the blackguards been promised the 150 dollars than they increased their demand to 200. Here our friend Mingfong took our part and abused his countrymen for their rapacity, and declared we should not be so imposed upon: he would sooner take but one boat. All was at length settled. We had chowchow (amongst which they gave us part of our own pork), and, having bid good bye to those who were to remain behind, at about eight A.M. the Commodore and Captain Elliot got into one boat, and myself and Captain Elliot's servant (who was sick) went in the other; they made us lay on our backs at the bottom of the boat, and covered us with mats. We got through the surf and out to sea without any mishap, as the weather was fine; further than that I knew nothing until about two P.M., when they uncovered us and gave us some rice. We had just finished our light repast, when the man sitting above hit me a pretty hard blow on the head, and made signs for me to lie down again; this I did, and was covered with the mat; a few

minutes after, I heard a rush, as if some large boat were passing us, which was the case. They said nothing to us, but the other boat was hailed, and asked what was the news, and whether many vessels had been wrecked on their part of the coast; to which suitable replies were given, and we passed on. This was a mandarin boat! They little thought what a prize was within their grasp—the two plenipotentiaries. Doubtless, we were throughout these three days of adventure and peril in the special keeping of Providence. In about two hours, I again ventured to look up, and to my great joy discovered two ships anchored at a considerable distance. I could not recognise the land, and was quite mystified as to our situation; at last, I determined that it must be the Typa, and I was right: we passed to the left of Monkey island, and Macao opened to our view; glad, indeed, were we, and thankful for our deliverance. We saw a vessel not far behind working up for Macao, which Captain Elliot made out to be a lorch, and we could no longer remain under cover, but throwing off the mats, stood upon the thwarts

and waved our hats to attract their attention, at the same time telling the Chinese to give way, which they did most lustily. My boat was a faster one than the other, and consequently got alongside first, when I met with an unexpected reception : all the Portuguese and Lascars were drawn up with swords, muskets, and pistols, so that I had nearly been shot at the moment of deliverance. However, Captain Elliot's servant explained who were in the other boat, and we went alongside instantly. They had mistaken us for Ladrones, hence the muskets, swords, and pistols. The Commodore and Captain Elliot were on board within a few minutes after us, and we were regaled with soft tack and pine-apple by the people on board, who seemed overjoyed at seeing us.

We soon came to in the Inner Harbour, and were all landed safely at the Bar fort. The commodore was in a blue worsted sailor's frock, a light pair of trowsers of four days wear, shoes, and a low-crowned hat ; Captain Elliot in a Manila hat, a jacket, no shirt, a pair of striped trowsers and shoes ; I had shirt and trowsers,

no hat, and a pair of red slippers, borrowed of a Parsee on board the lorch. The commandant of the fort was most amiable, and particularly anxious to turn out the guard for the commodore, who certainly did not look in a fit mood to appreciate such a mark of respect, his appearance bearing a close resemblance to a highly respectable quarter-master who had been dissipating; consequently the turning out of the guard was strongly deprecated, and the idea abandoned by the gallant Portuguese. Steps were instantly taken to procure the liberation of those still left in the hands of the Chinese. A boat was despatched to the island, accompanied by Mr. Thom, and all the crew brought to Macao on the 25th instant.

I hardly need add, that on our arrival at our quarters we instantly cleaned ourselves, and fully enjoyed the comforts of a good meal and an uninterrupted night's rest, after what had been our lot to undergo, and which, with God's help, we had so fortunately escaped—peril by water, peril by land, and peril of a captivity in the hands of the Chinese.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Arrival of Sir H. Pottinger and Sir W. Parker—Departure of Captain Elliot and Sir Gordon Bremer — Second expedition to the north—Fall of Amoy.

THE steamers sent in search of the little *Louisa* cutter, had returned without seeing any trace of her ; she and all on board were supposed to have perished in the typhoon, until, on the return of the Commodore and Captain Elliot to Macao, their miraculous escape became known.

The May overland mail had arrived during their absence, bringing intelligence of the appointment of a new admiral and plenipotentiary ; and in a few days afterwards, the steamer *Sesostri* joined the fleet, having on board Sir Henry Pottinger, sole plenipotentiary, and Sir William Parker, naval commander - in - chief. Immedi-

ately thereafter, preparations commenced for prosecuting the expedition northward before the change of monsoon, and by the 21st of August the fleet were again under weigh, and steering for Amoy in the following order :—

Bentinck Surveying Ship		
Queen, Steamer	Wellesley, 74	Sesostris, Str.
Phlegethon, Str.	Blenheim, 74	Nemesis, Str.
Columbine, 16	Marion (Staff-ship)	Modeste, 16
Druid, 44		
Wing-ship		
7 Transports	6 Transports	8 Transports
Pylades, 18	Cruiser, 18	Algerine, 10.
		Blonde, 44
		Wing-ship

About the same date, Captain Elliot and the Commodore took their departure for England. The health of the latter had been much broken by his recent disaster, and it was that alone obliged him to leave his post when the fleet was proceeding on active service. Captain Elliot certainly had a few friends who regretted his departure, but the majority of the foreign residents in China were delighted to get rid of him. In private life he was much esteemed, and even in public, except when employed diplomatically, he

evinced talent of no ordinary description ; all gave him credit for zeal and activity, but he wanted the decision and dignity of the diplomatist.

The fleet rendezvoused off the harbour of Amoy on the 25th. In passing by a chain of islands which form the mouth of the anchorage, a few shots were fired by the Chinese from fortified positions on those islands. On the following day the plenipotentiary, Sir Hugh Gough, and Sir W. Parker, proceeded to reconnoitre the defences in the Phlegethon. These appeared to be of vast extent and great strength : every spot from whence guns could bear upon the harbour was occupied and strongly armed. From the point of entrance into the inner harbour, the great sea line of defence extended in one continued battery of granite upwards of a mile. This battery was faced with turf and mud several feet in thickness, so that at a distance no appearance of a fortification could be traced. The embrasures were roofed, and the slabs thickly covered with turf, so as to protect the men while working their guns. This work mounted about 100 guns, and it terminated in a high wall, which

was connected with a range of rocky heights which run parallel to the beach. The entrance into the harbour is by a channel 600 yards across, between the island of Koolangsoo and Amoy. On each side of this passage there were also strong fortifications. As the Wellesley (flag ship) entered the Inner Harbour, a boat approached her from shore, with a white flag—an officer of low rank was the bearer of a chop from the authorities of the city, demanding to know what our ships wanted—directing us “to make sail for the outer waters ere the celestial wrath should be kindled against us, and the guns from the batteries annihilate us.” He was answered by a summons, requiring the surrender of the town and island of Amoy to her Majesty’s forces.

About one o’clock a simultaneous attack was made upon these prominent defences. The line-of-battle ships and large steamers attacking the great sea batteries, the two frigates the island of Koolangsoo, while the smaller vessels engaged the several flanking works.

The capture of Amoy was chiefly a naval operation ; and for four hours did the ships pepper

at those enormous batteries without a moment's cessation. The cannonade was certainly a splendid sight. The stream of fire and smoke from the sides of the liners was terrific. It never for a moment appeared to slacken. The Wellesley and Blenheim alone each fired upwards of 12,000 rounds, to say nothing of the frigates, steamers, and small craft; yet the works were as perfect when they left off as when they began, the utmost penetration of the shot being sixteen inches. From twenty to thirty people were all that were killed by this enormous expenditure of powder and shot.

It was late before the first division of the troops landed. These immediately escalated the wall which flanked the main line of batteries, covered by the Queen and Phlegethon steamers. The flank companies of the 18th were the first to get over the wall, driving the enemy before them. They opened a gate through which the rest of our men entered, and advancing along the battery, quickly cleared it, killing more men in ten minutes than the ships of war did the whole day. The enemy fled on all sides so soon

as the troops landed. An officer of rank cut his throat in the long battery, just as our men were coming up to him ; another walked into the sea, and drowned himself, in the coolest manner possible. The island of Koolangsoo was about the same time taken possession of by the troops with little opposition. During the whole day, the heights above the city for miles round were densely crowded with people who had proceeded thither for safety.

On the following day, the city was entered. The inhabitants appeared to have early deserted the place, leaving it in possession of the mob, who had already plundered to a great extent. Much treasure had been carried away—the boxes which contained it were laying in every direction. Even after our troops were in possession of the city, many stratagems were resorted to, to conceal and carry off valuable goods and treasure, such as placing it in hollow blocks of wood, coffins, &c. ; but these were soon detected, and put a stop to.

Amoy is a principal third-class city of China ; it has an excellent harbour, and from its central

situation is well adapted for commerce. It is a great emporium of trade, and has constant communication not only with the neighbouring states, but also with Singapore and other settlements in the straits. The city is about eight miles in circumference ; it is surrounded in part by a wall, and nearly its whole length by the inner harbour. Its population is fluctuating, from the major portion being so frequently absent on mercantile pursuits. It is at all times much infested by native robbers, who come in boats, and attack the inhabitants at night. These daring marauders paid repeated visits to the city, even while it was in possession of our troops, and gutted the temples and public establishments of much valuable property. The citadel is about a mile in circumference. It entirely commands the suburbs and inner town, and is surrounded by a wall which is occasionally turretted, and varies in height from twenty to thirty-six feet. In this citadel were several extensive granaries well filled, arsenals containing enormous quantities of gingalls, wall-pieces, matchlocks, military clothing, shields, bows and arrows, spears, and swords

of all descriptions, besides extensive magazines of powder, and material for constructing it. There was also a foundry, with moulds for casting guns. But few war-junks were seen, the Chinese admiral having shortly before our visit proceeded on a cruise with the fleet. Very large quantities of timber and naval stores were found, and there were several war-junks on the stocks—one two-decker, moulded after the fashion of ours, and carrying thirty guns, was ready for sea.

Among the anomalies to be met with at Amoy, is a foundling-house. The natives are said to be much given to the horrible crime of killing their female offspring, to prevent the incumbrance of their education, and the difficulty of providing a future husband for them. And, indeed, there appears to be some truth in the accusation, for not far from this foundling-house, in a tank covered with duckweed, a number of new-born babes were found sewed up in mats ; these, apparently, had been drowned.

Several of the merchants never left their shops : these shewed far greater acquaintance with European customs and manners than is ever to be

found at Canton. They could enumerate the productions and describe the government of many places in the Indian archipelago. But the name of Singapore was familiar to all, and produced many remarks in favour of the British nation. There, they said, property is always safe, no duty is paid, and there are no mandarins to squeeze.

The country in the immediate vicinity of Amoy is miserably barren—hence the means of subsistence are scanty and expensive. A few miles distant, however, the soil is rich, and affords abundant supplies. Green peas, potatoes, and other European vegetables were brought to market in great abundance when the general panic had ceased.

The batteries of Amoy having, on two former occasions, *driven* off the barbarian ships, they were, by the Chinese, considered impregnable. The capture of them, therefore, must have been a sad blow to their pride. Their magazines were blown up, their arsenals and their contents utterly destroyed, their best war-junks and dock-yards were burnt, upwards of 500 guns of various

calibre rendered unserviceable, and their fortifications experienced much the same fate as did those of the Bocca Tigris, after which the fleet and force, on the 5th of September, took their departure, leaving a garrison of 550 men on the island of Koolangsoo, which completely commands the entrance into the harbour. H. M.'s ships, *Druid*, *Pylades*, and *Algerine*, were also left here to afford additional protection to the garrison and Island.

CHAPTER XIX.

Recapture of Chusan, and battle of Chinhæ.

IN consequence of the north-east monsoon having set in with considerable violence, and the thick hazy weather, the ships were soon dispersed, and the passage towards Chusan became tedious and unpleasant. It was only by considerable perseverance, and taking advantage of the tides in shore, that the fleet were enabled to reach the Chusan group of islands. On the 25th of September they rendezvoused at “ Just-in-the-way,” a small island at the mouth of the Ningpo passage. In their progress up the coast, the *Nemesis* steamer, Captain Hall, running short of fuel, put into the harbour of Sheipo to procure a supply ; she was fired at from a couple of bat-

teries at the entrance of the harbour, both of which she attacked and carried, destroying their guns, and setting fire to their barracks. The Phlegethon steamer, Captain McCleverty, also exercised signal vengeance upon the village at which Captain Stead was seized and murdered last year, and which, on a more recent occasion, had decoyed on shore the crew of a boat belonging to the British ship "Lyra," under the pretext of selling them stock, and basely murdered the chief officer and two seamen.

It had originally been intended to take possession of Chinhae first, and afterwards proceed to Chusan ; but the weather was now too boisterous to permit of this being accomplished. It was therefore determined immediately to re-occupy the island of Chusan. With this view, on the 26th, a reconnoissance was made in the two iron steamers, when it was found that the defences had been increased to an almost inconceivable extent since the British forces were withdrawn in February last. The fortifications had been built on the same principles and in the same

manner as those of Amoy, that being now taken as the best pattern. The enemy were at their post, for they kept up a dropping fire on the steamers as they occasionally neared the beach. There was now a continual line of strong battery on the sea face, extending from outside Guards' Island, to almost half-a-mile beyond Joss-house, or Pagoda Hill, which has also been much strengthened. This battery was chiefly constructed of mud, and had 267 embrasures; though the majority were not yet supplied with guns. Independent of this formidable breast-work, others were placed on the several heights and valleys which commanded an approach to the harbour from the sea; many were in course of building, and some were finished, but had not yet their guns mounted. It was proposed to disembark the troops near Guards' Island, but here a stone battery with eight embrasures had been constructed, though as yet not armed; to prevent this being effected, the *Nemesis*, *Modeste*, and *Columbine*, proceeded to guard the position, and, at the same time to keep up a fire

upon a strongly defended entrenched camp, situated about 1200 yards above it on a steep hill.

Pagoda Hill, which we had begun last year to fortify, had now been made a very strong position by the Chinese, who followed out our plan in constructing the battery. A breastwork was thrown up by us on Trunball Island, which is opposite to, and removed about 1000 yards from, this hill. This service was, with much labour, accomplished by Lieut. Birdwood, Madras Engineers, without accident, under a heavy fire from the enemy's batteries. One 68, and two 24 pounder howitzers were placed here, and threw shell with admirable effect into the Joss-hill battery. The extraordinary currents, and the continuance of north-east gales with incessant rain, rendered it impracticable to move the whole of the ships to Chusan till the 30th.

On the morning of the 1st of October, the attack commenced. The men-of-war proceeded to the several positions allotted them, and the landing took place, in two columns, at the point above mentioned. The first column, which Sir

Hugh Gough accompanied, was 1500 strong, and commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Craigie, H. M.'s 55th regiment. The second column, 1050 strong, was under Lieut.-Colonel Morris, H. M.'s 49th regiment.

The force of the tides caused some delay in getting the troops on shore, and heavy fire was kept upon the boats from all points. H. M.'s 55th was the first to land. The enemy for some time kept under cover, and their guns had been silenced by the fire from the ships. But immediately our men landed, they again made their appearance on the brow of the hill ; they crowded every height, and opened a galling fire of ginjalls, and matchlocks upon the 55th, who were drawn out on the beach. The shot came upon them so thick, that it was judged prudent at once to advance up the hill, and drive the enemy off. The sight now became very animating, Major Fawcett leading his men up a steep and rugged ascent, and the enemy, with an infinitely superior force, drawn out in good order, and pouring down a heavy and well-sustained fire upon them. As our men approached, the Chinese came down to

meet them in the most determined way. The gallantry of some individuals was most conspicuous—one man in particular attracted universal attention ; standing on the peak of the hill while the shot from the Phlegethon and Nemesis plunged every moment within a few feet of him, he waved a flag, and the nearer the shot came, the more he waved ; at last a 32 pounder shot finished his career. Another warrior quickly took his place, and was in like manner disposed of.

By this time, the 55th were close on the Chinese ; the latter waited till they were within spears' length, and not much liking the steady appearance of a prepare to charge bayonets, wheeled to the right about and retreated. This gallant corps had one officer and twenty men put *hors de combat* ere they reached the top of the hill.

By this movement we obtained command of a bridge which flanked the whole line of sea defence, and completely turned the right of the enemy's position. The artillery brought their light guns to enfilade the long line of sea battery,

and on the 18th being landed, they pushed on at once to the attack, under Lieut.-Colonel Adams. Every foot of this long line was contested with more than ordinary spirit by a very large force, led apparently by one of the principal mandarins. Many of the enemy who were retiring along a causeway, seeing our men enter the battery, quickly returned and joined the main body. For some time it was a fair stand up fight, and the hardest hitters, holding out longest, had it. This, in a short time, proved to be the Royal Irish. The enemy took to their heels, but re-assembled again close to some brass guns. In their haste, however, they fired too high to do much injury. Some of the officers in advance saved their lives by making good use of their pistols; and the men advancing, shot or bayoneted every one of the enemy. It was here that General Keo, the chief naval and military commander, was killed, and his officers and men, sticking to him to the last, also fell with him. The 18th now pushed on and occupied Pagoda hill, which the well-directed fire from Trunball island had compelled the enemy to evacuate.

During these operations, the 55th regiment, which had now been joined by the Madras Artillery, Rifles, and Sappers, (the latter with escalading ladders,) moved on and occupied the heights overlooking the city to the north-west. The light field-guns, which with infinite labour had been brought to the summit of the heights, opened their fire on the walls and town. The 55th proceeded to escalade, while the Rifles passed rapidly down a deep wooded ravine, and cut off the enemy's retreat, which was already seen to have commenced at the north and east gates. Captain Pears, of the Engineers, was the first in the city, and the colours of the 55th simultaneously waved on the walls of Tinghae, with those of the Royal Irish on the Joss-house hill, above the suburbs.

The right column, unfortunately, in consequence of the strong currents and scarcity of boats, was prevented from landing in time to take part in the action.

The casualties on our side amounted to thirty, including one officer killed ; that of the enemy was calculated to be about 1500, including many

officers of rank. There were thirty-six brass guns captured ; these were quite new, and admirably constructed, and some of the gun carriages far superior to those generally in use among the Chinese ; two large twenty-four pounders, brass, were on traversing carriages, similar to those in use in our steamers.

The suburbs of the city, since our evacuation of it, had been occupied entirely as a military post, the inhabitants evidently not being allowed to enter. The names on the streets marked by us—nay, even those written on the doors in chalk, were just as we left them. The beach, however, was so altered by the extensive works thrown up, that no one could possibly again recognise it.

As soon as Tinghae was fully occupied, various parties of troops scoured the country, in order to capture or drive off any body of the enemy still lurking on the island. A military government was formed, and 400 men left as a garrison ; and Sir Henry Pottinger, on the day after the engagement, issued a circular, in which he declared, “ That under no circumstances will Tinghae and

its dependencies be restored to the Chinese government, until the whole of the demands of England are not only complied with but carried into full effect."

On the 7th of October, the wind having veered to the desired point, no time was lost in embarking the troops intended for the attack upon Chinhaë. The plenipotentiary, in company with the naval and military commanders-in-chief, proceeded on the following day, in the *Nemesis* and *Phlegethon* steamers, to reconnoitre the enemy's positions, where every preparation for resistance appeared to have been made.

The city of Chinhaë is situated on the left bank of the Tahae or Ningpoo river. It is about three miles in circumference, and is surrounded by a wall twenty-two feet high. At its southeastern extremity is a very commanding rocky height, which forms the entrance of the river; on the summit of this rocky eminence is the joss-house, or citadel. It is about 250 feet high, and is encircled by a strong wall, which is loop-holed, and connected by turrets, and has three batteries mounting twenty-one guns at its east

end, outside the wall, to defend the entrance of the river. The north and south approaches to this citadel are exceedingly steep—indeed, almost inaccessible. A causeway connects it with the city by a barrier gate at the bottom of a hill ; on the isthmus between the two, and on the side facing the river, are several batteries which flank its entrance. By accounts received, the citadel was said to be occupied by 400, and the city by 3000 brave Tartar troops.

On the right or south bank of the river the enemy's force was posted in great strength. Field redoubts crowned the summits, and every defensible position bristled with ginjalls. Opposite the principal landing-place on the side of the river, were four batteries, mounting thirty-one guns, which flanked the entrance. The river had been so effectually staked by rows of piles driven into the ground, that with difficulty only could a landing be effected. On this side of the river a range of heights and steep hills overlooked the city and joss-house. All these were fortified, and presented a military position of great strength, consisting of a continued chain

of entrenched camps on all the prominent points difficult of approach. A deep and wide canal also separated these strong posts of the enemy from the sea and landing-place. But at a short distance from the mouth of this canal it was ascertained that there were two bridges.

On the evening of the 9th, the whole of the squadron was anchored off Chinhae ; and at an early hour the following morning, the Wellesley, Blenheim, Blonde, and Modeste, took up their positions, so as to cannonade the citadel and eastern part of the city walls,—the steamers Sesostris and Queen, so as to shell the citadel in flank, and enfilade any batteries their guns could bear upon. The flat-bottomed steamers at the same time receiving on board the troops, proceeded to land them on the right bank of the river.

Sir Hugh Gough had divided his forces into a left, centre, and right column. The two former he himself accompanied ; the latter was placed under Captain Sir Thomas Herbert, R.N., to be made available on the left bank so soon as the concentrated fire from the shipping had begun to

affect the garrison of the citadel and city, or a practicable breach had been made in the walls. The landing of the troops on the right bank was opposed by a body of the enemy about 300 strong; but these soon fell back before a few volleys of grape and shrapnel from the steamers. The very great advantage of the iron steamers was on no occasion so clearly exemplified as on this; there being a scarcity of boats, and dispatch being a great *desideratum*, the steamers at once run their bows on the mud bank, and then permitted the men to wade on shore in water barely knee deep. After the troops had been landed, the two small steamers joined the rest of the squadron for the purpose of throwing shell into the citadel.

The left column was 1070 strong, and consisted of detachments of H.M.'s 18th and 55th regiments, Madras Artillery, Sappers and Rifle Company, four light howitzers, and two five-and-a-half-inch mortars. It was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Craigie. The centre column consisted of H.M.'s 49th regiment, and detachments of Royal and Madras Artillery and Sap-

pers, amounting altogether to 460 men, with two twelve-pounder howitzers, and two six-pounder fieldguns,—all under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Morris. This column was landed about a mile to the right of the left column on the opposite bank of the canal, and immediately in front of the enemy's position, and separated from it by a long low flat of ground. The left column was completely concealed from view of the enemy by a succession of steep hills. The force of the enemy in this position was supposed to be not less than 10,000, who, on seeing our small centre column only, turned out to give battle. About the same time that the left column reached the bridges across the canal, removed only a short distance from the enemy's strongest position, the right had also approached to within gun-shot range. The bridges were built up with masonry so as merely to permit one man to pass at a time. The enemy was drawn out in good order, and seemed determined on giving us a warm reception. They cheered, and waved us to approach, keeping up a constant though not a very effectual fire. The arrangements on the

part of the general had been so admirably concerted, that the advance was hardly sounded when both columns poured in their volleys of musketry simultaneously, and with such admirable precision, as at once to check and paralyse the assailed. They were so hemmed in that they knew not which way to turn, and so thunder-struck with the suddenness of attack, that they lost all nerve even to reload their guns. Our rockets and musketry continued for some time to mow them down by hundreds. Nothing could withstand the gallant and rapid advance of our small force. Field-work after field-work was cleared, and in a very short time the British colours were displayed on the principal fortress.

Further to the left, the 18th were still engaged with a large body of the enemy, who would not yield themselves. By order of Sir Hugh Gough, two flags were displayed to them, on which were inscribed in Chinese, "Yield and be saved," "Resist and perish." A few took the first friendly advice, but the majority preferred either seeking safety in flight or being shot down. Many were drowned in attempting to swim across

the river, among these was Yu-keen, the imperial envoy ; many officers committed suicide ; one man, a Tartar general of high rank, he who boasted when the British were formerly at Chusan, that if permitted, “ he would catch all the barbarians in a net, give their flesh to the wild beasts, and prepare their skins for the celestial troops to sleep upon,” was caught in the act of cutting his throat, but a wound in the arm prevented his accomplishing his purpose with the usual expertness of the Chinese. The operations on this bank of the river had all terminated by eleven o’clock ; upwards of 500 prisoners had been taken ; these suffered only the loss of their tails, and were set at liberty.

On the left bank, the bombardment still continued ; about noon, the walls of the citadel came crumbling down the rock on all sides. The city defences were also reduced to almost a ruinous state. The enemy, too, were evidently abandoning their guns, for their fire began to slacken. The right column, 700 strong, now landed ; the seamen immediately dashed up the precipitous

rock, and planted the union jack on the citadel walls. From thence they proceeded to the city, upon which our troops on the right bank had turned some of the enemy's guns, and in a short time cleared the ramparts. Several mines had been sprung in the course of the day, doing serious damage to some of our men. Thus, in a few hours, and with a mere handful of men, fell the stronghold of Chinhæ, the chief military depôt, the great arsenal of this district, and the key to the large and opulent city of Ningpo, at a loss of life to the Chinese of about 2000, while our casualties in killed and wounded amounted only to nineteen. There were sixty-seven brass guns captured, besides numberless iron ones. The former were of very superior manufacture, and some worked on a pivot with the greatest ease.

The city of Chinhæ, being entirely a military post, did not present many attractions. The joss-house was a mere apology for a temple. Here their hideous idols, shattered and broken by the shot, lay indiscriminately on the ground, with the mangled corpses of those who wor-

shipped them. In one house in the city a poor woman was found with her leg shot off, and in another, four little children were lying dead, the effects of a shell that had burst over them ; unfortunately, the disasters of war do not fall upon the guilty or contending parties alone.

CHAPTER XX.

British troops enter Ningpo—Loss of the steamer Madagascar, and ships Nerbudda and Viscount Melbourne.

THE batteries and several forts at the mouth of the Ningpo river being in our possession, it was determined to push into the city of Ningpo, the second in importance of the province of Chekeang, and removed from Chinhae fifteen miles. With this view, the admiral proceeded in the *Nemesis* to ascertain the depth of water, and whether the river was free from obstructions. He met with no impediment in his progress, and actually reached the very walls of the city without any attempt at opposition.

On the morning of the 13th of October, a garrison of about 500 men having been left at

Chinhae, the remnant of the force was placed in steamers, and proceeded up the river. No enemy appeared, and it was evident that no treachery was intended. The peaceable inhabitants thronged the banks of the river and a floating bridge of boats that connected the city on the left bank with the suburbs on the right. The troops landed, and advanced to the gates, which were found barricaded; the walls were soon escaladed and the gates opened from within, the Chinese assisting in removing the obstructions placed against them; all around was still and quiet, there was no appearance of resistance or show of force. The enemy, placing the utmost confidence in the defences of Chinhae, which, in their opinion, neither celestial nor terrestrial power could destroy, had taken no precautions for the protection of this rich and populous city. It was ascertained that the Tartar troops had positively refused again to face ours, in consequence of which the mandarins had all fled from the city about a couple of hours before the arrival of the squadron off its walls. Our little force of soldiers, sailors, and marines, not amounting, in

all, to 1000 men, marched quietly into the city, the band of the Royal Irish playing "God save the Queen." A *feu de joie* and three hearty cheers sounded from the ramparts ; this was returned from the shipping moored in the river, not 100 yards from the walls, upon which the troops proceeded to the quarters assigned to them.

Ningpo is a beautiful city. It is nearly five miles in circumference and surrounded by a high wall, fully two-thirds the size of Canton, and equally densely populated. The number of its inhabitants is supposed to be not less than 600,000. They did not appear at all to be alarmed at our approach—the majority satisfying themselves with merely closing the doors of their houses, and marking over them the words "submissive people." For some days the streets were deserted, except by the victors ; gradually, however, the people regained confidence, many of the shops were re-opened, and provisions of every description became cheap and plentiful. Many hundred tons of copper coin were found in the treasury, but the sycee and dollars had, in great part, been removed to a safer place during

the period we were carrying on operations against Chinhae. Quantities of valuable silks and China ware were discovered, and the granaries were stored with a couple of years' supply of grain.

The country around Ningpo is rich and fertile, and the banks on each side of the river a perfect garden. Parties who have proceeded up the river, about forty miles above the city, in the light steamers, describe the scenery on each side as of surpassing beauty.

The duties of our troops, broken and scattered as they now were, and garrisoned in five distinct places—viz., Hong-Kong, Amoy, Chusan, Chinhae, and Ningpo, were, it will easily be supposed, arduous and harassing. All, however, continued very healthy, which may be attributed to the praiseworthy conduct of the men, the total absence of every description of intemperance, the abundant supply of good food, and the comfortable barracks provided them. The artillery were quartered in the hall of audience, where Captain Anstruther used to be examined before the Chinese officers. Here he found the identical

cage in which he was confined. He was immediately recognised by the turnkeys about his old prison-house, and was now enabled to oblige and assist those who had previously been kind to him.

In the early part of the Chinese expedition, Sir Charles Adam, in pointing out the difficulties of carrying it through, remarked that no ship could possibly get from Singapore to Macao during the prevalence of the north-east monsoon. The passage is, no doubt, a difficult, and, to a certain extent, a dangerous one; but that the honourable member's argument was too sweeping, is clearly seen in the number of ships that almost daily reach Hong-Kong, from the several ports of India, and proceed to Chusan. In the month of December, 1841, the Jupiter troop-ship conveyed H. M.'s 26th regiment from Hong-Kong to Ningpo; and this she effected, in the very teeth of the monsoon, in little more than a month. That occasional accidents will happen must be expected. No accounts have ever been heard of the Golconda, and the supreme govern-

ment have directed that the names of those unfortunate officers and men embarked on her be now struck off the strength of the army.

The loss of the steamer Madagascar, though not in any way owing to the influence of the prevailing monsoon, may be here enumerated among those other losses which have already occurred on the expedition. This steamer started from Hong-Kong in the month of September, 1841, and proceeded about ninety miles, when her coal was discovered to be on fire. The fire had communicated from the furnace late one afternoon. Every exertion was made to extinguish it, but without effect. It blew a gale the whole of this night, and at daylight on the following morning, the fire was found to have extended so near the magazine, that it became absolutely necessary at once to forsake the ship. To effect this, however, was a service of danger, in consequence of the boisterous nature of the weather, and the Lascar or native crew, who on any sudden emergency become perfectly apathetic and useless. The steamer was provided with four boats. The Lasgars, finding that it was determined to

risk all to them, resolved to have their share. Without the consent or knowledge of Captain Dicey, an able and experienced seamen, a portion of the crew rushed into and lowered a couple of the boats. These no sooner touched the water, than, from want of proper precaution, they were swamped, and all on board perished. The other two boats, being properly manned, kept company for some time, but at length separated in a storm, and never met again. When about ten miles from the steamer, she was observed to blow up with a tremendous explosion, and go to pieces. The captain's boat, having on board the chief officer, the surgeon, Captain Gratton, 18th regiment, and forty of the crew, reached the shore the day after they forsook the wreck. They had not been long there when the Chinese took them prisoners. At first they were treated most unkindly ; stripped of all their clothes, they were obliged to march many miles on their bare feet, until they arrived in the neighbourhood of Canton, where they were then kept close prisoners, but treated with greater kindness. They continued to pass themselves off as Americans ;

and after being nearly six months in the hands of the Chinese, through the local influence of that respectable firm, Messrs. Jardine, Matheson, and Co., they were at length liberated. This transaction reflects no great credit on Mr. Johnstone, in charge of the government of Hong-Kong, who throughout declined to exert himself in procuring their liberation, and after they had become free, actually refused to reimburse those who advanced a large sum of money to purchase their freedom, on the plea that they were not British subjects, but only servants of the East India Company !

The transport Nerbudda, also, sailed from Hong-Kong in September, bound for Chusan. She had on board, besides immense quantities of stores, thirty men and an officer of H.M.'s 55th regiment, and 150 public followers for the several corps in the north. The ship reached the Chusan group without accident ; here, however, she experienced a most severe gale, which at once dismasted her ; she drifted before the wind and tide until she reached the north end of the island of Formosa, where she struck upon a reef, but

immediately going over it, she again floated in twenty fathom water, where she was anchored. The cutter and the two quarter-boats had been lost in the gale. The long-boat was therefore got out ; into this, Lieutenant Hamilton, H. M.'s 55th regiment, commanding on board, the captain, all the officers, and every European in the ship, embarked, for the purpose, if possible, of making Amoy, and procuring assistance for those left on the wreck. Finding this impossible, they bore up, and proceeded down the coast on the eastern side of Formosa Island. They had been at sea fourteen days, and had suffered great privations, when most fortunately they fell in with a junk, which supplied them with some water and rice, and on the following day they were picked up by a clipper, and brought into Hong-Kong harbour. H.M.'s ship Nimrod was immediately dispatched to the wreck, but not a trace of it was to be seen. In coasting down the inner or western side of the island of Formosa, they discovered from some Chinese, whom they took on board, that a ship, answering the description of the Nerbudda, had gone down at her anchors, that a great portion

of those on board had been lost, and that about 100 men who had come on shore in rafts had been sent by the inhabitants of Formosa to the Chinese coast.

The Viscount Melbourne sailed from Singapore in the end of December. On the fifth of January she struck on the Leuconia shoal, in the Chinese seas. Among other passengers on board of her was Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, proceeding to take command of the 37th Madras Grenadier corps. The ship was fast settling, which rendered it necessary to have recourse to the boats as the only means of preservation. These were five in number ; by mutual consent, they steered for Borneo Proper. On the 7th they came in sight of land. Here one of the boats, manned solely with Lascars, left the others, and, contrary to the directions of the captain of the ship, proceeded on shore, which, however, they had hardly reached when they were attacked by the Malay pirates, and all taken prisoners. On the same evening the first cutter, in which Colonel Campbell was, became separated from the other boats in a gale of wind. The captain,

who was in one of the latter, in consequence of the wind changing, altered his original intention, and steered for Singapore, which port they reached fourteen days after abandoning the wreck. Those in the first cutter were not so fortunate. This boat had been injured on the reef, and it was necessary to have two men day and night employed in baling out the water to prevent her from sinking. On the day after they had parted from the other boats, they were attacked by the Malay prow ; but fortunately, being well armed, they effectually resisted the attempts made to take them prisoners. From those prow some of the Lascars, who had been seized the previous day, leaped overboard, and swam toward the boat, but only two men succeeded in getting on board. Finding it impossible to reach Borneo Proper, they steered for Sambas, a Dutch settlement on the coast of Borneo. Here, after suffering many privations from the want of water, the loss of rudder, the leaky state of the boat, and the dangerous nature of the coast, both from its imperfect survey and the swarms of pirates frequenting it, they arrived in a state of extreme

exhaustion on the 16th of January, when the Dutch authorities vied with one another in administering to their comforts during ten days they remained with them. The sultan of Sambas, who is friendly to the British government, was determined not to be behindhand in his attentions. He presented Colonel Campbell and the two officers in the boat with handsome gold rings, and ultimately sent them to Singapore in one of his own ships.

CHAPTER XXI.

Opium and opium smoking.

It is well known that many high authorities at home as well as abroad have asserted, and still continue to assert, that the pending war between Great Britain and the celestial empire had its origin in the opium traffic. Now, in taking up this position, the expedition is made to appear in its most odious light, and were these arguments of its opponents once admitted as reasonable and founded on a true basis, England would, indeed, have cause to rue the events of the two past years. That the sale of the drug may have tended, in some degree, indirectly, to add a stimulus to the injuries inflicted upon foreigners trading to Canton, there is but little doubt ; but

the arrogance and insolence of the mandarins, acting under the orders of their emperor, had arisen to so great a pitch, independent of the opium trade altogether, that it required but little foresight to predict that a crisis was approaching between the two nations. Be this as it may, a work of this description would seem to be incomplete, were not a certain portion, however small, devoted to a subject so important and full of interest to the British and Indian governments. The opium for the Chinese market is procured solely from our Anglo-Indian possessions, the Patna and Benares, from the corresponding districts of that name in Bengal, and the Malwa from Bombay. The two former are exported in small cakes, the latter in balls, each about the size of a thirty-two pound shot. They are packed in the dried leaf and stocks of the poppy, and sent on to China in fast-sailing clipper. It being a great object to be first in the market, there is at all times great competition amongst the several mercantile houses on this point. The clipper no sooner arrives at Macao, than she immediately proceeds to transfer a por-

tion of her cargo to receiving ships, stationed at well-known positions on the coast of China. These ships are always effectively manned and armed to enable them to resist any sudden attack either by the mandarins or pirates who rove about this coast in great numbers. They for the most part lie at anchor some miles from land, and at stations where the Chinese opium merchant, from long habit, knows where to find them. Here they are always certain of obtaining a ready sale for the drug, and at prices which repay the original purchaser, at times, many hundreds per cent. There are but few firms, however, who can engage in the traffic to this extent, in consequence of the enormous floating capital required. The Chinaman comes with his bags of dollars and sycee, or pure native silver, and receives the opium in exchange. No credit is given or asked for; all dealings are carried on in ready money.

The opium is never used by the Chinese in its crude state, but it undergoes a process which separates the resin and other impurities, leaving a residuum somewhat analogous to the morphia

used by us, though in a very impure state. This is called by them Chaudoo. It is retailed at most exorbitant prices, and is supposed to be used universally and indiscriminately throughout the empire. For medicinal purposes, it is employed by the Chinese both internally and externally, to a very great extent; and I have been informed by a native doctor, that a very few grains taken internally by the most confirmed opium smoker, is certain to lull him to sleep, and have a far more powerful effect upon his secretions than if ten times that quantity was introduced into the system by means of inhalation. The drug, when used for smoking has the appearance and consistence of tar. The apparatus necessary for proceeding with the operation consists of a small lamp, fitted with a glass shade, a steel probe, a small brass box containing the drug, and an ebony pipe, about eighteen inches in length, at the further extremity of which is a large pear-shaped bowl, smooth and flattened on its upper surface, in the centre of which is a small hole capable of admitting a

pin's head. The smoker now lies down on his bed, and drawing the table, on which the lamp is placed, close to him, with the probe he takes from the box a piece of opium about the size of a pea ; this he applies to the flame until it swells and takes fire ; instantly blowing the flame out, he rolls the opium for a short time on the bowl of the pipe, and then re-applies it to the flame, and repeats the same process until it becomes sufficiently burned to be fit for use. It is now introduced into the small aperture in the bowl, and the lungs having previously been emptied as much as possible of atmospheric air, the pipe is put to the mouth and the bowl applied to the flame, and in one long deep inspiration the opium becomes almost entirely dissipated. The fumes are retained in the chest for a short time, and then emitted through the nostrils. This operation is repeated until the desired effects of the drug are produced, the period of which varies according as the individual has been accustomed to its effects. Some old stagers will smoke whole nights without being completely under its influence, whereas, to the beginner, or to a per-

son not used to the habit, a very small quantity is sufficient to stupify.

I had the curiosity to try the effects of a few pipes upon myself, and must confess I am not at all surprised at the great partiality and craving appetite always present with those who are long accustomed to its use. From what I have myself experienced, as well as seen in others, its first effect appears to be that of a powerful stimulant. There are few who have not, at some period of their lives, experienced the powers of opium, either to soothe or mitigate pain, or drown cares and sorrows. But, as with most other temporary stimulants, there follows a period of nausea and depression; the opium becomes partly digested in the stomach, and it deranges all the natural secretions. When introduced into the system through the lungs, this does not appear to follow. Its effects are then far more immediate and exhilarating, as well as more transient. The pulse vibrates, it becomes fuller and firmer, the face glows, the eyes sparkle, the temperature of the skin is elevated, and it becomes suffused with a blush; the organs of sense are exquisitely sensi-

tive, perspiration flows profusely, respiration becomes quicker, the action of the heart is increased, the nervous energy is exalted, and a glow of warmth, and sensations similar to those which often attend highly pleasurable and agreeable feelings, overspreads the body; every organized tissue shares the impression, and the whole system becomes preternaturally excited, and assumes the characteristic of disease. The perceptions become more vivid, the imagination more prolific with ideas, and these of a more brilliant and exalted character. Fancy is awakened, and creates new and bright associations, the pleasurable scenes of former life are again recalled, events and circumstances long effaced from recollection, facts long forgotten, present themselves to the mind, the future is full of delightful anticipations, whilst the most difficult schemes appear already accomplished, and crowned with success. Under its operation every task seems easy and every labour light.

The spirits are renovated, and melancholy is dissipated; the most delightful sensations and the happiest inspirations are present when only par-

taken to a limited extent, and to those not long accustomed to its use. If persevered in, these pleasing feelings vanish, all control of the will, the functions of sensation and volition, as well as reason, are suspended, vertigo, coma, irregular muscular contractions, and sometimes temporary delirium, supervene.

From the earliest periods in every nation, and among every people, we find some description of stimulus in common use among them ; and were we to be led away by the popular opinion that the habitual use of opium injures the health and shortens life, we should expect to find the Chinese a shrivelled, and emaciated, and idiotic race. On the contrary, although the habit of opium-smoking is universal amongst the rich and poor, we find them to be a powerful, muscular, and athletic people, and the lower orders more intelligent, and far superior in mental acquirements, to those of corresponding rank in our own country.

The Chinese themselves affirm that the use of the drug acts as a preventive against disease, and in this opinion, when smoked in moderation,

I am inclined in part to agree with them. The particles, by their direct and topical influence on the nerves of the lungs, which carry the impressions they receive to the heart, brain, and spinal cord, and through them, to all parts of the body, may thus, to a certain extent, guard the system against disease, and, by its tonic influence, strengthen the several organs : this opinion gains strength when we call to mind that a peculiar active principle in opium, the narcotine, has of late been employed with considerable success in Bengal, as a substitute for quinine. It may also be mentioned, that, at the time fevers prevailed so extensively among our troops at Hong-Kong, but comparatively few of the Chinese suffered, though exposed throughout to the same exciting causes.

These facts would certainly, on the whole, rather tend to shew that the habitual use of opium is not so injurious as is commonly supposed ; its effects, certainly, are not so disgusting to the beholder as that of the sottish, slaving drunkard. True, like all other powerful stimulants and narcotics, it must ultimately produce effects inju-

rious to the constitution ; and the unhappy individual who makes himself a slave to the drug, shuns society, and is indifferent to all around him ; and when deprived of his usual allowance, he describes his feelings as if rats were gnawing his shoulders and spine, and worms devouring the calves of his legs, with an indescribable craving at the stomach, relieved only by having recourse to his pipe—now his only solace.

There is no disease in which opium may not be employed ; nor do we know of any substance which can supply its place. Yet here we find its use abused, like many others of the choicest gifts of Providence.

CHAPTER XXII.

Troops enter winter quarters—Health of the force—Enemy threaten their position—Night attack on Ningpo and Chinghae—Tartar encampment on the heights of Segaan and Chayke destroyed.

As the cold of winter approached, it became necessary to protect the troops as much as possible from its influence. Profiting, therefore, by last year's hard-bought experience, the most comfortable quarters procurable were provided them. In the months of December and January, the cold was most intense. At Ningpo, the thermometer was seldom above 16° , and very frequently as low as 10° . There were occasionally very heavy falls of snow, with severe frost; but such was the care and attention bestowed on the comfort of the men, that regimental hospitals, on an average, did not contain

half-a-dozen patients, instead of the hundreds of last year's campaign, and a death was now quite a rarity amongst them. The navy, too, were equally healthy. For sportsmen, there was abundance of amusement—pheasant, woodcock, game, and wild fowl in every variety abounded in the surrounding country. In the city of Ningpo, everything was going on quietly, the inhabitants were daily flocking back, and now openly expressed a wish to be taken altogether under British protection. Confidence was established; there was an excellent market, with supplies of all kinds, and the greater number of the shops had been re-opened.

The Emperor continued to fulminate forth edicts of extermination; the fall of Ningpo and Chusan had redoubled his wrath against us. In the same edict that he says he perused the reports of his officers on the subject “with fast-falling tears,” he thunders vengeance against us, and directs his oldest and best generals to concentrate their forces, and advance upon us. In the statutes of the imperial council, the name of Great Britain is enrolled among the states

tributary to China; and now that the rebellious subjects should prove so refractory was beyond endurance. Some intelligent men among the Chinese have actually revived an old prophecy, supposed to have been predicted by the great Confucius—"That China is to be conquered by a woman;" and believe that the period of its fulfilment is now approaching.

Our quiet and pacific mode of life at Ningpo had emboldened some few thousand Tartars, in the month of January, to approach to within a few miles of the city, on one of the large branches of the river. Intelligence of their movements having been brought to the British authorities, it was at once determined to attack them ere they could establish themselves close to our position. For this purpose, the two iron steamers were again called into requisition, and in the course of a very few hours, the enemy were suddenly surprised, at the town of Yu-yao, by the appearance of 600 British troops. The Tartars attacked our men on landing, but were easily repulsed, with a loss of about 150 killed. Their encampment was destroyed, and their gra-

naries opened to the populace ; the troops then advanced to another position higher up the river, called Si-ke. Here, also, the enemy were easily repulsed, and their camp and granaries met the same fate as did those of Yu-yao.

During February nothing of importance occurred. So great a terror had our general become to the Chinese that every means were adopted to buy him from his allegiance. Large rewards were offered and pensions guaranteed to himself and to his posterity, if he would enter the imperial service. Early in March, Sir Hugh proceeded to inspect the troops at Chusan, and to make final arrangements preparatory to a forward movement. The enemy, who had at all times spies in our camp, soon ascertained the fact of his absence, and on the night of his departure made a bold and well-planned attack upon Ningpo. It was quite a new feature in this war for the Chinese to become aggressors, and, judging from the reception they received, it is not likely to be repeated.

On the 10th of March, Lieut. Halfhide, of H.M. 49th regiment, was on guard at the south gate of Ningpo, the most remote position from

the quarters occupied by the troops. At 3 A.M. his post was attacked by a large body of the enemy (by escalade), and carried; his party falling back, along the ramparts, to the next post, the Bridge-gate, where they met the patrol and a party under Capt. MacAndrew of the 49th, who was ordered out on the alarm being sounded. They proceeded down South-street, which leads in a direct line from the barracks to the gate. Here they met the enemy, coming up the street as confidently as if the place was their own. They were *kind enough* to carry lanterns, to enable our men to direct their aim (?), and drive them down the street and out at the gate at a much more rapid pace than they entered. Meanwhile the main attack was going on at the West-gate; here Lieutenant Armstrong, of H.M. 18th regiment, was on guard, with some of the oldest and best flank company soldiers in his regiment, and they proved themselves of good mettle. The attack was made with great spirit, the enemy advancing in numbers to the amount of many hundreds, with loud yells, attempted to take the gate "*à la Guznie*." But the little guard kept up so heavy a fire on them that they

failed. When close under the archway, the men, by a great effort, hurled the parapet on their heads, and crushed many under it. In this state of matters, Colonel Montgomerie came up with four guns and a party of about 100 men. He at once opened a fire on the western suburb, by which the enemy had advanced, and with the above party and one small mountain howitzer made a sortie, and soon fell in with a dense column of the enemy, formed for the attack, in a narrow street. Colonel Montgomerie could only shew a front of six men, who, so soon as they had fired, made way for six more, and so on, into the living mass of the Chinese so propped together; and impelled forward by the "pressure from without," did the infantry continue to pour volley after volley, until the howitzer was brought up and placed in a position barely 100 yards from the Chinese.

Grape and canister were now substituted for musket bullets. The slaughter, as may be supposed, was quite horrible; the mangled bodies lay in huge piles, heaped one upon another; and old Peninsular officers present declared that, the

breach of Badajos alone excepted, they never in a similar small space saw such a mass of slain.

Simultaneous with the above attack, an attempt was made to destroy our shipping by means of fire-rafts, but it proved a complete failure, as did also a feebly conducted attack on our post at Chinghae. Boats containing large red boxes, similar in appearance to those in which the Chinese keep their furs and silks, were also allowed to float down amongst the shipping in the river. Nor was Jack slow in ascertaining the contents of these boxes, and, eager to possess the prize, raised the lid, which was no sooner done than a dreadful explosion took place, which shattered the boat in pieces, and injured and immersed in the water those whose curiosity had incited them to the search.

It was deemed necessary promptly to follow up these successful repulses ; with this view, on the 15th, a body of 1200 men, with some guns, proceeded up the main branch of the river towards the city of Tsj-ki, where a large body of the enemy were known to be encamped. The walls of this city were scaled, to which no resistance

was offered. On the Segaoon hills, removed about a mile from the city, two extensive entrenched camps were perceived. Arrangements were directly made to dislodge the enemy from these, and, although they disputed every point of their steep and difficult position, keeping up a galling fire on our men as they ascended, the latter gallantly and steadily persevered until the summit was gained, and the rout of the Chinese army became complete at all points. The Naval Brigade, H.M. 49th, and the Madras sappers and artillery bore the chief brunt of this attack, and the pursuit was followed up by H.M. 18th and 26th, and Madras Rifles. The strength of the enemy was estimated at 8000. They were styled the "Golden-flowered Brigade," and had come from the frontiers of Turkistan. They were remarkably athletic, able-bodied men, accustomed to border warfare, and considered by the Chinese invincible. Upwards of 1000 of them were left dead on the field. Our loss was twenty-five in killed and wounded, among whom was a large proportion of officers. Captain Whittingham of the Cameronians; Major Lough, Quarter-

master-General ; and Captain Barrow, Madras Artillery, particularly distinguished themselves in this attack. The latter officer was “conspicuous for his intrepidity, and broke his sword in opposing a Tartar who attacked him.”

On the 16th, the troops advanced to Chunki, fifteen miles distant from Tsi-ki, where it was ascertained that another large body of the enemy were encamped. Here they had selected their position with considerable military skill. But the fugitives from Tsi-ki had evidently prepared them for the reception they would receive from us, for no sooner did our men come in sight than they took to flight, carrying with them their guns and treasure. On the 17th, the forces returned to Ningpo. The salutary effect produced by the above engagements was very evident, no further molestation being offered to us during our occupation of this city.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Evacuation of Ningpo—Fall of Chapu—Reinforcements arrive—Fleet enter the Yang-tze-Keang—Waosung, Powchong, and Chinghae are taken—The city of Chin-Keang-foo is stormed—Nankin is threatened—The Emperor sues for peace—He agrees to our terms—Our army separate—Farewell order by Sir Hugh Gough—Conclusion.

THE city of Ningpo was evacuated by the British forces on the 7th May. A small garrison was left on the citadel of Chinghae, and the fleet sailed for Chapu, a port distant sixty miles north of Chinghae. An amusing Imperial edict appeared in the Pekin Gazette about this time, proclaiming that the barbarians had at length been expelled from Ningpo, and awarding honours to the heroes who led his Imperial Majesty's troops to so signal a victory. The

attack was described as a combined one, there being more than seventy vessels, with large land forces, co-operating. None of the Imperial troops were slain, but on the side of the barbarian English, the carnage was reported as dreadful. Fine ships were destroyed, and powder and military hats were borne off as trophies, and the road was strewn with baggage dropped in their flight. Notwithstanding this sad reverse sustained by Her Majesty's forces, on the 18th of May they stormed the city and citadel of Chapu, the garrison of which place consisted of 8000 regulars, 1700 of whom were Mantchow Tartars. These occupied a range of heights and fortified encampments, strengthened by abattis. The walls were escaladed, on which the Chinese troops took to flight. Not so, however, the Tartars ; they retired slowly and steadily, returning our fire, to a joss-house at the base of a hill outside the city walls. Here they made a stand, and opened a hot and destructive fire upon our men. One side of the wall was destroyed by the engineers, the artillery were crumbling down the other side, and the rockets setting fire to the

building, yet, not one would surrender—all perished in the fire and ruin. The women and children were here indiscriminately slaughtered to prevent them falling into our hands. The Tartars, in person, are shorter and more muscular than the Chinese, with large heads, bushy black hair, and broad flat faces. They inhabit a division of the city, separated from that occupied by the Chinese by a high brick wall. On the side of the British, there were eight officers and 52 men killed and wounded in this affair, and the number of bodies of the enemy buried by us was nearly 1500.

While the fleet lay at anchor off Chapu, the long expected reinforcements arrived. These consisted of H.M. ships *Vindictive*, 50 ; *Thalia* and *Endymion*, 44 ; *Cambrian*, 36 ; *North Star*, 26 ; *Dido*, 20 ; *Pelican* and *Harlequin*, 18 ; *Childars*, *Clio*, *Hazard*, *Wanderer*, *Serpent*, and *Wolverine*, 16 ; and *Chameleon*, 10 ; besides the war steamers *Auckland*, *Tenasserium*, *Pluto*, *Phlegethon*, *Proserpine*, *Ariadne*, *Medusa*, *Vixen*, *Driver*, and *Memnon*, and several troop and surveying ships ; H. M. 98th regiment, and a de-

tachment of royal artillery from England ; strong detachments of foot artillery, and sappers and miners ; a troop of horse artillery, the 2nd, 6th, 14th, 39th, and 41st regiments of native infantry and rifles from Madras ;—these, with a corps of Bengal volunteers and the marines and small-arms men, amounted to a force of nearly 20,000 men.

With this effective force, we were enabled to prosecute operations with activity. The fleet sailed from Chapu on the 23rd of May, and on the 13th of June they crossed the bar into the great Yang-tze-Keang river, at the point where it is joined by the Waosung, and about eighty miles north of Chapu. Here the Chinese had erected immense works to defend the entrances into both rivers. Besides several commanding forts to flank them, a line of batteries extended nearly three miles on the western side, and between the cities of Waosung and Powchong. These batteries were furnished with 175 large cannon. The channel of the river opposite this battery is 320 yards wide, and during the night of the 15th, it was ascertained by Captains Kellet and

Collinson that there was sufficient depth of water for the largest ship in the squadron to approach. At daylight the following morning, the Blonde, Cornwallis, Modeste, Clio, Columbine, North Star, and Algerine were towed, by steamers, opposite those batteries. The cannonade immediately commenced, and continued extremely heavy and unceasing for two hours, when that of the enemy began to slacken, on which the General landed with his troops, but found the batteries deserted, as was also the fortified city of Pouchong. Our shipping was considerably cut up by the fire of the enemy, but the casualties were few. The steamers destroyed a large fleet of war junks, some of which were furnished with paddle wheels, which worked by means of ropes and pulleys. On the 18th, the force moved up in two columns to Shanghae, to which city the army had fled. Shanghae is about 15 miles from Waosung, on a branch of the river of that name. The right column proceeded in the light steamers up this branch of the river. It was commanded by Major-General Shoedde, and it arrived at the city about the same time as the column under

.


Colonel Montgomerie, which had marched up. But no resistance was offered, nor was there any show of force. The authorities had been seized with a general panic, and had all fled. The respectable inhabitants that remained appeared to regard us with little apprehension, and they freely produced any supplies that were necessary.

The guns captured in these operations amounted to the extraordinary number of 364, of which 76 were brass. The latter were put on board ship, and formed a valuable item in the prize fund. All the others were rendered unserviceable. They were all of superior construction and heavy calibre. Many of them were mounted on new and efficient pivot-carriages, and fitted with Bamboo sights. Several of the brass guns were quite new ; one large one was styled the “ tamer and subduer of the barbarians ;” and one particularly large one was christened “ the Barbarian.”

The city of Shanghae and its extensive suburbs are chiefly occupied by aristocracy, who retire from public life. The houses are large and comfortable, and the extensive gardens attached produce a great variety of fruit. Large libraries

were seen in many of the dwellings. The country through which Colonel Montgomerie's force passed was chiefly rich alluvial soil, growing cotton and rice in abundance. In the province of Sung-Kiang, of which the city of Shanghae is the capital, the women are reputed the handsomest in China. The inhabitants are described as a race who never contract marriage with a relative, no matter how distant the consanguinity, as such would entail deteriorated progeny and hereditary disease ; and the " lily-feet ladies" are said to have chalky complexions, pensive, languid looks, and delicate silvery voice, all of which are regarded as essentials to female loveliness.

After the fall of the above places, the high authorities of the province avowed their wish to treat ; and by way of conciliating their invaders, they sent into our camp sixteen of H. M.'s subjects, who had been kidnapped at Ningpo and Chusan. But Sir Henry Pottinger would not listen to their proposals, convinced that they were not grounded on a true basis, but merely made with a view to retard active operations. He issued from Waosung a proclamation, which was as extensively circulated as circumstances



would permit, pointing out the causes of quarrel between the two nations, the only terms he was directed by his sovereign to listen to as reparation for these, and from whom they must emanate; and that hostilities would be carried on until they were all acceded to.

The defeat of the English, as reported to the Emperor, was not so signal here as at Ningpo. "Their ships stood like mountains in the ocean, but two only were sunk, and one fine vessel injured."

The fleet were detained at Waosung by bad weather and adverse winds until the 6th of July, on which day they got under weigh, and sailed up the noble Yang-tze-Keang, (here upwards of ten miles from bank to bank,) in the following order:—

Advanced Squadron—surveying.

H. M.'s ships *Starling*, 6; and *Plover*, 6.

— — *Modeste*, 18; and *Clio*, 16.

H. C.'s armed steamers, *Phlegethon* and *Medusa*.

General Squadron—1st Division.

H. M.'s ship *Cornwallis*, 74, flag-ship.

— — *Calliope*, 26.

H. C.'s armed steamer *Vixen*.

Transport *Marion*, Sir H. Gough and staff.

7 Transports, Sappers and Miners, coals and victuallers.

Major *Pearse* commanding.

Second Division.

H. M.'s ship Blonde, 44.

H. C.'s armed steamer Auckland.

10 transports, Royal and Madras Artillery, ammunition
and horses.

Brigadier Montgomerie commanding.

Third Division.

H. M.'s troop ship Belleisle, H. M. 98th regiment.

— — Jupiter, H. M. 26th Cameronians.

H. C.'s armed steamer Queen.

9 transports, 41st M. N. I. and Bengal Volunteers.

Major-General Lord Saltoun commanding.

Fourth Division.

H. M.'s ship Endymion, 44.

Hon. Co.'s armed steamer Sesostris.

13 transports, H. M. 55th regiment, 2nd and 6th M. N. I.
and Rifles.

Major-General Shoedde commanding.

Fifth Division.

H. M. ship Dido, 20.

H. M. troop ship Apollo, H. M. 49th regiment.

H. M. troop ship Rattlesnake, H. M. 18th Royal Irish.

8 transports, H. M. 18th regiment and 14th M. N. I.

Major-General Bartley commanding.

They reached Sheshan on the 11th. There was a small military position here built to command a narrow portion of the river, the batteries from which opened on the advanced squadron. But a few broadsides from the *Modeste* and *Clio* instantly silenced them, and a party sent on shore

spiked the guns, and destroyed the works. On the 20th the whole armament, upwards of seventy sail, anchored at Golden Island, abreast of the city of Chin-Keang-foo, nearly 200 miles from the sea, and thirty only from Nankin, the ancient and southern capital of China. The mere fact of so large a fleet lying at anchor at so great a distance from the mouth of the hitherto unexplored Yang-tze-Keang speaks for itself of the noble character of the river, which, at this point, is upwards of ten miles in breadth. Chin-Keang-foo is a strongly fortified city, which commands the entrance into the Imperial Canal. A reconnoissance having been obtained on the afternoon of the 20th, the troops disembarked early on the following morning. The army was divided into three brigades. The right, under Major-General Lord Saltoun, proceeded to dislodge a strong body of troops encamped on a range of heights about four miles inland in the direction of Nankin. The enemy did not wait the near approach of our men, but broke up and dispersed, after firing a few distant volleys at us. The left brigade, under Major-General Shoedde, escalated the

northern wall, and advancing into the city, co-operated with the centre brigade, led by Major-General Bartley, which had effected an entrance by blowing open the western gate. The Tartar garrison behaved with great gallantry, disputing every inch of the ramparts with desperate valour, neither giving nor taking quarter; and during the whole of the afternoon, they kept up a dropping fire from their houses on any of our men coming within their reach, finally escaping when it became dark, by throwing away their arms and uniform, and mingling with the other inhabitants. Our returns this day presented a heavy roll of casualties; 185 in killed and wounded. Of these, about 20 had died from "*coup de soleil*,"—the day being oppressively hot.

It was an extraordinary circumstance, that the Chinese carefully carried our wounded to us, while they very unceremoniously kicked the bodies of the Tartars into the canal. The loss of the enemy was upwards of 1000 in killed and wounded, forty of whom were officers or mandarins. The Tartar general, when he saw that all was lost, collected his papers, household

traps, and gods, and seating himself in the midst of them, forced his servants to set fire to the pile. His charred body was found the day after the assault, and his private secretary sitting beside it. Here the self-immolation was much greater than at Chapu—whole families committed suicide. The scenes of horror that met the eye in every house baffle description. Women and children in dozens hanging from beams, or lying on the ground with their throats cut, or drowned in deep wells, to prevent their falling into our hands. At this city overtures of peace, and “chops” in abundance, were sent to the Plenipotentiary from Nankin. But Sir Henry declined to have anything to say to these until under the city walls. An eclipse of the moon, an event sadly ominous in the opinion of the Chinese, occurred the day following the storming of Chin-keang-foo—a total eclipse of the sun appearing about the same time at Peking.

A strong British garrison was left at Chin-Keang-foo—it being an important position, commanding the entrances into the Grand Canal—the remainder of the expeditionary force moving

up to Nankin, where they arrived on the 9th of August. The outer walls of this city are from thirty to thirty-five miles in circumference, with an average height of thirty feet. Within this wall there are two other enclosures, one of which is said to hold a garrison of 10,000 Tartar soldiers. The nearest part of the wall to the river is 1000 yards distant. At this point, the ships took up their position to throw shells into the city. On the 11th, the force was landed and the guns placed—the 13th being the day fixed for the bombardment of this enormous city. On the day after our arrival off Nankin, flags of truce were everywhere displayed. Three millions of dollars were offered, if a truce were granted to enable the imperial high commissioners to report to the emperor the demands of the British, and, by permission, to conclude a treaty of peace. Sir Henry Pottinger was satisfied with the sincerity with which the request was conveyed, and granted the truce. A draft of the *only* treaty that would be agreed to by us was forwarded by the imperial commissioners, for submission to their emperor; and his reply, which is annexed, will at once

shew the anxiety with which he grasped at an opportunity of putting an end to the war, which was daily becoming more harassing to his kingdom, and which had already penetrated into its very vitals.

On the 27th day of the 7th moon the following imperial edict was received:—

“Keying and his colleagues have sent up a document containing a report and rough sketch of the articles of the convention discussed at a personal conference with H. B. M.’s Plenipotentiary in China.

“I have inspected the report, and have a full knowledge of the whole of it.

“I, the Emperor, seriously considering the evils to the uncountable number of the people, and the important consequences to the greatness, power, and station of the empire, and I cannot avoid being constrained and forced to grant what is requested; it is but one time of bitterness and trouble, but then ease, repose, and peace may be reckoned on for ever; and not only will the two provinces of Keangsoo and Cheakeang be preserved entire, but the empire will be held together in its integrity! As to those items in the report relating to trade, there are some that are improper, and require further consideration. Now as the barbarian ships are willing to leave the Chang river, and are also willing to retire from Chaoupaa hill, that which they have before requested relative to a free trade at five ports, the country of Fuhchow must be excluded; permission to trade thither cannot by any means be granted, but another port may be exchanged for it; they may be allowed to trade,

coming and going, at the four ports of Canton, Amoy, Ningpo and Shanghai.

“As to the matter of the Hong merchants’ debts, the said great ministers must necessarily accommodate themselves to circumstances, and in a perspicuous edict explain the matter thus to the English.

“The said nation has traded with China for more than 200 years, and heretofore all has been harmony and good will; and the trade has always been transacted by barter and money. But as the Hong merchants and yourselves have between you mutually transacted the affairs of trade, our public officers have hitherto never examined into, or troubled themselves about the trade. The affair of the rise and fall in prices, whether low or high, are very petty, trifling matters. Further, our speech and language are unintelligible to each other; and most decidedly the district officers will not be able to manage the matter.

“Hereafter, the Chinese merchants at all the ports will adopt extraordinary modes of giving trouble and cheating, even to *cutting*—i. e., demanding excessive discounts, when there will be no hindrance or fear of laying a clear statement of the case before the district officers, who will certainly punish the said merchant (delinquent): decidedly there will be no indulgence shewn. As to the £6,000,000, it is proper that I should give them, by which my sincerity and good faith will be manifest; and they are to be collected from the salt commissioners and provincial treasuries of the three provinces of Chekeang, Keangsoo, and Ganhwuy, the richest supplying the deficiencies of the poorest. As to correspondence being conducted on terms of perfect equality between the officers of the two governments, and the barbarians who have been made captives, and the Chinese who have been seduced, (into the employ of the English,) I grant all these supplicated favours; let the captives be released; and I

order that all the matters (the three just mentioned) be allowed which have been requested.

“ Further, with reference to what is contained in the report about sealing ; the said barbarians do not require your seal as proof, but the imperial seal of the empire to be fixed as a guarantee (of the treaty) ; so I shall not fall in dignity—and the feelings of my imperial station will not be lost.

“ Before I have disseminated my imperial rescripts to each of the dependencies* of China, all sealed with the imperial seal of the empire ; and I order that my rescripts be sent under a flying† seal with the despatches from the board of civil office ; and they are to be forwarded in this ceremonious manner, that all the clauses which have been clearly reported may be properly managed.

“ From the time of this settlement, the said great minister must especially report to the emperor, behaving with perfect sincerity, that of the things supplicated there are none which have not been granted.

“ From this epoch of a thorough free trade, there should be everlasting peace and harmony. Your nation should also treat us with mutual, perfect sincerity ; and certainly not again commence military operations in direct opposition to heavenly principles ; for not only have you already caused troubles and confusion in many provinces, but you must not again come seeking causes of quarrel and war ; and just so, the coast and territories of the provinces of Canton, Fuhkeen, Taewan (Formosa) Chekeang, Keangnan, Sahntong, Chihle, and Shunteen (Peking), the barbarian vessels of war are not allowed to enter and frequent.

Since at this time we are at peace, of the officers and

* Corea, Japan, Cochin-China, Hainan, Siam, &c.

† The imperial rescripts are to be folded, and the back edges to be joined to the same of the despatches of the Lepoo, and fastened by a diamond-shaped seal.

troops in each province, there are some that should be sent away, and others detained. We have already consulted as to the ancient cities of China, her signal pyramids and batteries; and it is proper that they should all be rebuilt successively, according to former custom; these have not been of modern erection; but they were built for the purpose of guarding against and seizing the pirates, and were not established to guard against the said barbarians; and we certainly must not incoherently and disorderly produce suspicion and apprehension. Those distant provinces which have not yet heard of or possess a full knowledge of the peace: if any of your (barbarian) ships abruptly enter, and are suddenly attacked, you must not make this a cause of screening yourselves, borrowing pretences, and mouthing.

“The whole of the above matters rest wholly in the deep consideration and extreme care of the said minister and his colleagues; let them be wholly true and sincere in deliberating and deciding; and so far ever put an end to the risings of war; there must not be the least misconception or misunderstanding. This is not an affair or time to be idle, or to dismiss the matter in a hurried, remiss, and irregular manner; but regard it with severe and serious attention!—with sincere and serious attention regard it!

“Hurry on this edict at more than at the rate of 600 *le* a day, and order him (Keying) to inform himself of its contents. Respect this.”

Keying, a member of the royal family, Niu-Kien, a general, and Eli-pu, a lieutenant-general, were empowered with the imperial seal and sign-manual to accede to *all* our terms; and on the 29th August, 1842, exactly three years from the

day on which the English were expelled from Macao by Lin, (who, it may be as well to inform the reader, has been banished to the Siberia of China, with the unenviable duty of protecting the banks of the Yellow River,) the treaty, of which the following are the most important provisions, was signed and sealed on board the flag-ship, in presence of a large body of officers of both arms of the service.

1. Lasting peace and friendship between the two empires.
2. China to pay Twenty-one Millions of Dollars in the course of the present and three succeeding years.
3. The Ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo Chow Foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai, to be thrown open to British merchants, consular officers to be appointed to reside at them, and regular and just tariffs of import and export (as well as inland transit) duties to be established and published.
4. The island of Hong-Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to her Britannic Majesty, her heirs and successors.
5. All subjects of her Britannic Majesty (whether natives of Europe or India), who may be confined in any part of the Chinese empire, to be unconditionally released.
6. An act of full and entire amnesty to be published by the Emperor under his Imperial sign manual and seal to all Chinese subjects, on account of their having held service or intercourse with, or resided under, the British Government or its officers.
7. Correspondence to be conducted on terms of per-

fect equality amongst the officers of both Governments.

8. On the Emperor's assent being received to this treaty, and the payment of the first \$6,000,000, her British Majesty's forces to retire from Nankin and the Grand Canal; and the Military Posts at Chinghae to be also withdrawn; but the islands of Chusan and Kulangsoo are to be held until the money payments, and the arrangements for opening the ports, be completed.

The Imperial Standard then waved in equality and amity with that of Great Britain, and a Royal salute announced to all, that lasting peace and concord was established between the two empires. Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm was deputed by Sir Henry Pottinger to convey to England the glad tidings of "peace with China." The great object of interest at Nankin is the "Porcelain Tower." It is a most elegant and singular structure, remarkable for its correct proportions, and the material of which it is composed. The mass of the building is brick, the facing and lining only being of beautiful glazed porcelain. In form, it is octagonal, and on each of the angles is a moulding of glazed red and green slabs placed alternately. It has four arched door-ways,

each representing, in elegant porcelain, and in every variegation of colour, wild beasts, demons, deities, monsters, &c.

The country around Nankin is rich, bold, and hilly, and produces all descriptions of European and Asiatic fruits. Fir and oak also abound. There were immense coal yards on the banks of the river, from which the steamers were amply replenished.

On the first instalment of the twenty millions of dollars being paid, the fleet dropped down the river, and, according to the terms of the treaty, the military post of Chinghae was withdrawn, 2800 troops were left to garrison Chusan, 1000 at Amoy, and 1800 at Hong-Kong, Lord Saltoun succeeding to the command of the whole. The rest of the force returned to India, on which our gallant chief issued the following farewell order :—

“ The commander of the forces cannot allow this army to separate, without finally expressing the gratification which he has uniformly derived from its exemplary conduct. The warm anticipations which he had entertained on assuming the command, have been amply fulfilled. Patient endurance of fatigue and exposure in a warfare often harassing, steady

discipline in the midst of temptations of no ordinary kind, and enthusiastic gallantry whenever a foe appeared, whatever his numbers or however strongly posted, have marked the conduct of this army. The happy termination to the war now severs the tie which united the lieutenant-general with his gallant comrades at Chusan, Kolángsú and Hong-Kong; with those who return with him to India, a brief space more will dissolve his connexion, but neither time nor circumstances will efface the deep interest which he feels in the well-being and the honour of the corps and individuals that compose the army of China. With this assurance, Sir Hugh Gough bids them farewell."

Our repeated victories on the coast of China, the noble display of so many British ships close to the gates of the ancient capital, our possession of the great canal, the chief artery of the empire, and the extraordinary and unnatural powers imputed to our *devil's ships*, or steamers, have at length convinced the Emperor and his advisers of the utter futility of further resistance on their part; and, in dread of a nearer approach to the capital of the empire, they were glad to "bow gracefully," and conclude peace on any terms.

Our moderate demands will for ever redound to the credit of Great Britain. We have paved the way to the utter extinction of that exclusiveness and idea of supremacy hitherto insisted on

by the Celestial Empire, and we have laid open a most valuable mart of commerce to the world at large ; and, with the help of Providence, we yet may be instrumental in sowing the seeds of Christianity amongst a skilful and intelligent people.

THE END.

